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LEGENDA AUREA—LÉGENDE DORÉE—GOLDEN LEGEND

A STUDY OF CAXTON'S GOLDEN LEGEND WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE
TO ITS RELATIONS TO THE EARLIER ENGLISH
PROSE TRANSLATION

A DISSERTATION

PRESENTED TO THE BOARD OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES OF
THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

PIERCE BUTLER

FELLOW IN ENGLISH AT THE JOHN. HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

BALTIMORE
JOHN MURPHY COMPANY

1899

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CORRECTIONS

- P. 1* : line 2, for *or* read *of*.
P. 6 : l. 3 *or*, read *for* : . *Z.* for repeated ~~and~~ repeated.
P. 12 : l. 5, for ~~potentissimum~~ read *potentissimum*.
P. 26 : 6 from bottom, for *Ordini* read *Ordinum*.
P. 32 : l. 32 ~~autem~~ *autem*, read *autem a non*.
P. 42 : . *Z.* for *pp.* read *2*.
P. 48 : l. 22, read *p. 48*, l. 22 and *M. Vignay's*, read *Vignay's*.
P. 54, l. 24, *Ateng*, read *Ateng*.
P. 57, l. 26, *rigat*, read *riguly* : and l. 36, *cat*, read *cattingue*.
P. 60, *cat*, add : See Ward, II, 555, where this point is noted, as well as *Caxton's*
uncovering *unse*.
P. 67, l. 12, for *C.*'s read *Caxton's*.
P. 76, note 1, for *cond* read *cond*.

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- FURNIVALL: *Chaucer Society*, 1875, 2nd series, No. 10, p. 207: text of de Vignay's and Caxton's *Cecile*.

¹ I have not attempted to give anything like an exhaustive bibliography, for none could be considered at all adequate which ignored the special references for each of the legends given below, and a bibliography of *St. Patrick* alone would fill several pages. I here give, therefore, merely a brief list of the chief works consulted. The references in the text itself are generally explicit enough in themselves.

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-

LEGENDA AUREA—LÉGENDE DORÉE— GOLDEN LEGEND.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

The purpose of this study is, in the main, to show the sources and the method of composition of Caxton's *Golden Legende*, and this portion of the work is to be as careful and elaborate as circumstances will permit. But the many fascinating subsidiary questions connected with the *Legenda Aurea* could not be passed by in silence; and to these I shall devote some attention. Many of them, moreover, are so intimately associated with the main problem, and have been so imperfectly treated by the few who have noticed them at all, that I must believe my present method to be fully vindicated by these conditions. I have observed the following divisions in this study.

Chapter I. *Voragine, and the Latin versions*: A. *Voragine's Life and Works*; B. *Date of the Legenda Aurea*. C. *Its character and scope*; D. *Literary History*; E. *The standard editions*. Chapter II. *French Versions*: A. *The so-called translation by Jean Belet*; B. *Jean de Vignay's translation and its revisions*. Chapter III. *English Prose Versions*: A. *The 15th century version, in ms.*; B. *Caxton's Golden Legende, his method of Composition and sources*. Chapter IV. *The "Etymologies" in Voragine, Vignay, and Caxton*.

CHAPTER I.—VORAGINE, AND THE LATIN VERSIONS.

A. The essential facts in the life of Jacobus de Voragine have been so frequently given that I shall here rehearse them only in the briefest manner.

Jacobus a Voragine, or de Varagine (as he seems to style himself), was born at Varaggio, a small town on the Gulf of Genoa,

not far from Savona. We know nothing of his parentage or early life; indeed, we do not even know the date of his birth. He was probably born about A. D. 1230, as he speaks of a solar eclipse occurring while he was still a child, in 1239 (*Chronicon Januense*, XII, cap. 4). From the same authority (*Ibid.*, cap. v), we learn that he was still a mere youth when he entered the Dominican Order, in 1244. Under the Dominicans he soon distinguished himself by his zeal for study and by his exemplary conduct. Later on he won some reputation as a professor of theology in various houses of his order; but his talent for preaching—especially cherished by the “*Fratres Praedicatores*”—was what drew special attention to him. In 1267 he became Provincial of his order in Lombardy, and held this office for eighteen years, when he became Definitor. In 1288, as he tells us with pardonable pride (*Chron.* XII, cap. 6), he was empowered by Pope Nicholas IV (through the Emperor Henry IV) to absolve the Genoese from the papal censures which they had incurred by aiding the Sicilians in their revolt against Charles II of Naples.

About this time the Archbishop of Genoa died, and the chapter chose Jacobus a Voragine to succeed him. But the humble Dominican declined the honor, to the great regret of his fellow-citizens, and the Pope appointed Obezzon, ex-patriarch of Antioch. He died in 1292, and the chapter again chose Jacobus for their Archbishop, unanimously; the Senate of Genoa voted its approval of the choice; the people rejoiced at it; and finally the reluctant monk yielded to the public will and became Archbishop of Genoa.

He fully appreciated the importance of his new duties, saw how his influence might be strong for peace in his diocese, then distracted by the violent factions of the Guelfs and Ghibellines, and exerted himself to quell these unfortunate troubles. It is one of the few things he tells us about himself, that he actually succeeded in patching up a peace between the warring factions. But the echoes of the *Te Deum*, chanted to celebrate the peace for which he had worked three years, were hardly gone before the conflict broke out again, and the streets of Genoa became again veritable fields of battle. It is said that the Archbishop once averted a conflict by throwing himself between the combatants at the risk of his life. In short, he was a model Archbishop, and a truer and

nobler Christian than many of those whose deeds he re-told in the *Legenda*. There is an anecdote told here which, though believed to be untrue as applied to Jacobus, is nevertheless illustrative of the factional spirit of the age, and worth quoting. It is said that Jacobus a Voragine, having presented himself before the Pope, Boniface VIII (1294–1303), to take part in the usual ceremony on Ash Wednesday, the Pontiff, suspecting that the Archbishop was too favorable to the Imperial party, threw the ashes into his face, saying, in place of the usual words: *Memento quia Gibellinus es, et cum Gibellinis tuis in pulverem reverteris*. Voragine occupied the archiepiscopal throne seven years, dying in 1298, on the 14th July. He was buried in the Church of St. Dominick, at Genoa, on the left of the high altar. And so close the short and simple annals of a writer who, while he can lay small claim to originality—he himself says he *compiled*—or to great literary power, has exercised a great influence on literature. Even with us, the *Golden Legend* has a pleasantly familiar sound, witness Longfellow's choice of it for a title, though it has ceased to be for us what it undoubtedly was during several centuries and for many literatures: a rich mine of stories, a familiar household volume, "full of wise saws and modern instances," as it were, their *Curiosities of Literature*, *Book of Days*, *Phrase and Fable*, or what not. But before discussing the character or influence of the *Legenda Aurea*, let me conclude the biographical sketch by enumerating the works of its author.

We cannot determine the dates of composition of his works, and the following list is so far from being based on chronology that the *Chronicon*, which is placed first, must have been one of the last written, since it extends to 1296. (1) *Chronicon Januense*, his principal work, being a history of Genoa from the time of *Janus*, first king of Italy, and founder of the city, to the writer's own times. It is in 12 parts. The first 4 deal with Janus, the founder, and another "Janus, citizen of Troy," coming down to the conversion of the city, 'about 25 years after the passion of Christ.' Part v deals with the beginnings, growth, and culminating prosperity of the city, reaching to the author's own time. Part vi, the constitution of the city. Parts vii and viii, with the duties of citizens and rulers, and ix, with domestic duties. Part x, ecclesiastical

history, from St. Valentine (c. 530) to 1133, when Genoa became the seat of an Archbishop. Part XI, Lives of the Bishops. Part XII, Lives of the Archbishops, including the author (For this analysis, see *Encycl. Brit.*). (2) *Legenda Sanctorum, sive Lombardica Historia*—our *Legenda Aurea*. (3) *Sermones de omnibus Sanctis* (2 volumes). (4) *Sermones de omnibus Evangelii Dominicalibus*. (5) *Sermones de omnibus Evangelii*. (6) *Marialis, qui totus est de B. Maria compositus*. (7) *Defensorium Frat. Praedicatorum*. (8) *Summa virtutum et vitiorum Guil. Peraldi* (but see Crane, J. de Vitry, p. xcvi). (9) *De operibus et opusculis S. Augustini*. (10) *Historia Lombardica* (?) [this is the sub-title of the *Leg. Aur.*, and is usually considered as referring to the life of S. Pelagius Pope, cap. 181, p. 824; but Echard (vol. i, p. 457) believes there was a separate work with this title]. (11) *Summa casuum conscientiae* (for the guidance of his clergy). (12) Italian translation of portions of the Bible, ascribed to Jacobus by Sixtus Senensis; there is a copy in the British Museum. (13) *Tabula super historias sacrae scripturae*. (14) *Expositio in Symbolum Athanasianum*.

In this list of Voragine's works, which I have based on the account given by Echard, the fullest life of our author, many of the items are quite unimportant, the only ones, certainly, by which he is now remembered being the *Chronicon* and the *Legenda*. It may be as well to note here that the above-mentioned article by Echard in Quétif's *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum*, Paris, 1719 seq., vol. i, 454 f., seems to be the basis of all subsequent accounts; the essential facts are repeated in Tournon's *Histoire des Dominicains*, Paris, 1743, vol. i, 583 f., and in Brunet's *Légende dorée*, Paris, 1843. The *Chronicon* is in Muratori's *Scriptores Rerum Italicarum*, vol. 9, 53.

B. It is, perhaps, not a matter of prime importance to fix the date of the composition of the *Legenda Aurea*, but we should gladly welcome any evidence that would enable us to do so. The two scholars who might have said something authoritative on the question have not expressed definite opinions. Graesse, who intimates in his preface that he had collected material for extensive notes, did not, so far as I can discover, publish them. In the

preface to his *Beiträge zur Literatur und Sage des Mittelalters* (Dresden and Leipzig, 1850), ix, he again alludes to his hope of publishing studies on the text and sources of the *Legenda*. Brunet, too, in *La France littéraire au XV^m siècle*, 221, says he purposes publishing studies on the Latin text. But he does nothing more than state, at the close of the *Introduction* to the *Légende dorée*, that the text from which he translates was “*rédigé vers 1260.*” This date, I think, is rather too early. Voragine at this time would have been only about thirty years old. Such a work as this, whatever its shortcomings now, required most extensive reading, a thorough acquaintance with an immense mass of material, and no mean literary skill. For no one who has studied the *Legenda*, so concise and painstaking, and compared it with the verbose and chaotic collections which preceded it, can fail to acknowledge how vast is the improvement. A work so concise and, according to the standards of the day, so accurate and scholarly, does not seem to me to be from the pen of a young or untrained writer.

But even if we cannot accept 1260 as a certain date, there are certain facts which preclude one much later. Most of those who have written on the subject have stated that the *Legenda* was composed “late in the thirteenth century.” Probably they have been influenced in favor of this view by a misunderstanding of Jacobus’s own words. Speaking of himself, he says: “*Hic cum adhuc esset in Ordine suo, et postquam fuit in Archiepiscopatu, opera plura fecit.*” Noticing only the second clause, it would be easy enough to imagine that he wrote “after he had become Archbishop,” i. e. in 1292 (cf. *Encycl. Brit.*). But this was evidently not Jacobus’s meaning. And the list of his own works, which follows the sentence quoted above, begins (cf. *Chron.*, xii, 9) with the *Legenda*: “*Nam Legendas Sanctorum non uno volumine compilavit, multa adjiciens in eisdem de Historia Tripartita et Scholastica, et de Chronicis multorum Auctorum.*” From his own account then, this *Legenda*, heading the list of his works, was one of the earliest, if not the very first, compiled *cum adhuc esset in ordine suo*, and before he was made Archbishop.

Efforts to relieve this uncertainty have only succeeded in shifting it to another hagiology, though I have succeeded in collecting

certain evidence. In the *Prologus* to the *Catalogus Sanctorum* of Petrus de Natalibus we find a list of the authorities from which he has compiled. Next to the last in a long list, which appears to be arranged with some reference to chronology, we find: "*Demum frater iacobus de voragine ordinis predicatorum . . . sanctorum gesta quorum solennia ab ecclesia recoluntur et in kalendariis ascribuntur generaliter collegit et compendio brevavit.*" The last author is: "*Novissimus omnium frater Petrus calo Venetus.*" Nowhere have I been able to discover the date of either Natalibus or Petrus Calo Venetus. Some assign Natalibus's *Calendarium* to "about 1260"—which is manifestly too early. The only thing of which I feel sure is that this work, the first, I believe, in which the *Legenda* is mentioned, was composed before the end of the thirteenth century, and before the work of Jacobus won its present epithet of "*Aurea.*"

Another clue, too, suggests itself. The life of *St. Pelagius* in the *Legenda*, cap. 181, is really a sort of chronicle. The last event mentioned therein is the deposition and death of the Emperor Frederick II (ob. A. D. 1250): "*Quo deposito et defuncto sedes imperii usque hodie vacat*" (*Legenda*, p. 844). We can therefore feel certain that this portion of the work was written not long after 1250 (cf. G. H. Waitz, *Monumenta Germaniae*, xxiv, pp. 167-171, ed. 1879). But we must remember, that this chapter of the *Legenda* may once have been a separate work, as Echard hints, and written much earlier than the main body of the *Legenda*. No argument can be safely based on the long chapter on Elizabeth of Hungary (*Leg.*, p. 752 f.), who died in 1231, since, contrary to the usual rule, she was canonized in 1235, and became at once a nucleus for miracles and a theme for legend writers.

In conclusion, I will state that my own judgment leads me to the view, yet unsupported by evidence, that the *Legenda*, even the portion which seems Jacobus's work, was a growth; some portions were written early; as occasion arose new legends were inserted; just as modern writers give us second and revised editions, so Jacobus, too, added to and perfected his work ("*Legendas . . . non uno volumine compilavit*"). And this process of revision may have continued until late in his life. But the *Legenda* was already completed, in all essentials, between A. D. 1260-1270.

C. The question of the sources of the *Legenda Aurea* is too large and too intricate to be satisfactorily treated here. Still, accepting the indications given by Jacobus himself (see quotation above, and Prologue to *Legenda*), I shall say a few words about one or two of the books from which he might have drawn. Nearly all the Saints in the *Legenda* will be found also in the *Speculum Historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais. The latter gives, indeed, many more than the *Legenda*, and the lives are usually much longer. But a few of the shorter legends, and a few of the better known, will be found to correspond almost word for word. I have compared, for example, the *Seven Sleepers*. In order to be chronologically accurate (!), Vincent gives the portion of the story up to the time when the youths fall asleep, under A. D. 252 (Lib. XI, cap. 45), and continues with their awakening in A. D. 447 (Lib. XX, caps. 31–33). Could a modern historian be more faithfully accurate? The text of the *Legenda* agrees almost verbatim with Vincent's story; but the latter, again observing chronology, gives also, in Lib. XXV, cap. 20, the curious anecdote about Edward the Confessor (cf. Wm. of Malmesbury, II, 13). The legend of *St. Ursula*, again, is identical with *Spec. Hist.*, Lib. XX, 40–45. To these we may add: *St. Julian the Bishop* (*Spec. Hist.*, IX, 63), and *Julian Hospitaller* (*Ibid.*, 65); *St. Patrick* (*Ib.*, XX, 23–24); *St. Vitalis* (*Ib.*, IX, 50); *St. Petronella* (*Ib.*, 38); *St. Marina* (*Ib.*, XV, 74); *St. Apollinaris* (*Ib.*, X, 7); the story of *Simon Magus* (*Leg.*, p. 372–3, cf. *Spec. Hist.*, IX, 12), etc., etc. In all these instances we find not merely the same story but, in general, the very words repeated in the *Legenda*. But even where there seems to be proof positive that Jacobus borrowed from Vincent, we cannot call him a servile copyist. One illustration of my meaning will suffice. After ending the story of the *Seven Sleepers*, Jacobus adds the following sentence to the account (*Leg.*, p. 438): "The statement that they slept 372 years may be questioned; for they arose in the year of our Lord 448, Decius, however, reigned but one year and three months, namely, A. D. 252, and therefore they slept but 196 years."

But the very limited time devoted to the question of Jacobus's sources does not entitle me to offer opinions. I shall merely state that while his book was confessedly a compilation, he used his sources with considerable judgment and care.

The *Legenda Aurea* was intended to give in a convenient form the best information about the lives and miracles of the saints and martyrs. Similar work had been done before—to which Jacobus acknowledges his indebtedness—such as that of Simeon Metaphrastes, and Vincent of Beauvais. But in none of these were the purposes quite the same. And the legends in these numerous collections, besides being often too marvellous even for the good digestion of the thirteenth century, are long and ill told. Those who question Voragine's merits would do well to look into the vast and verbose *de Gloria Martyrum* of Gregory of Tours, to cite but one of the better known. In short, Jacobus sought to sift and codify somewhat as Baronius did some three centuries later, or as Bishop Lee did. There are now dozens of just such works, handy one-volume martyrologies, whose pious editors vainly seek to preserve the pleasant fiction that their legends are sober facts.¹

That Voragine included many stories which, to modern readers, seem both ridiculously incredible and often indecent, no one can deny; but in this age, at least, we have learned to make some allowances for the quite different point of view of the thirteenth century. His work shows very plainly that he took some pains to sift the immense mass of traditions which had obscured the real facts of the various lives. We find upon careful examination that he not only tells the stories *quantum valeant*, but even calls attention to inconsistencies and improbabilities in them, being always careful to give his authority for the extraordinary particulars. We have seen one such instance in the case of the *Seven Sleepers*. Another striking instance, noted by Echard, is in the legend of *St. Hilarius*, where, after telling the story of the saint's answer to Pope Leo (*Leg.*, p. 99): "*Et si sis Leo, non de tribu Juda*," etc., Jacobus remarks that this story seems apocryphal, as there was no Pope Leo at that time. And another instance, in which we may contrast Caxton's treatment: in the legend of the *Finding of the Cross* (p. 303-4), we are told the extraordinary story of the branch from the Tree of Life which Seth planted on Adam's grave, and from which the wood of the Cross was taken; Jacobus then adds:

¹ One such came under my notice recently: ed. Rev. Robert Owen, B. D., London, 1880; he duly records *Barlaam and Josaphat* under Nov. 27th, but "suspects" that it is but the Buddha legend, and suggests the likeness to *Rasselas*.

"It is left to the judgment of the reader whether this be true or not, as these things are not to be found in any chronicle or authentic history." Caxton, however, omits all this, and passes on in silence (see Morris, *E. E. T. S.* No. 46, p. 155). Can we blame Voragine because his ideas of an authentic history were so radically different from ours? For my own part, far from thinking him too credulous, I have sometimes been astonished at the boldness of his suggested doubts, in an age when there was no impunity for incredulity, much less a premium on it.

The *Legenda Aurea* was meant to be not merely a repository of saints' legends. It was meant to be used almost as a service book, as can be seen from its very plan, and its prologue. The book is divided into five sections, each headed by a special treatise in the nature of a sermon on the special feast day which it applies to: thus section I begins with *de Adventu*, and includes chapters I–V; then section II extends from Christmas to Septuagesima, caps. VI–XXX; section III, from Septuagesima to Easter, caps. XXXI–LIII; section IV, Easter to the octave of Pentecost, caps. LIV–LXXVI; and section V, Pentecost to Advent, caps. LXXVII–CLXXX. And in the *Prologue* the author calls attention, very quaintly, to these five sections, and to the scriptures to be read in connection with them. "There is no doubt," says Aspland (*Golden Legend, Holbein Soc.*, 1878, p. 35), "that [the *Legenda*] was read in churches, and studied as a religious book."

D. Manuscripts of the *Legenda Aurea* are so numerous that it would be an immense labor merely to mention them; nor would there be anything gained in such an enumeration unless one could give reliable details. I shall, therefore, mention only one or two of the oldest known to be in England. Luard, in his *Catal. of Cambridge MSS.*, vol. II, 493, describes one of these early MSS.: No. 1321—Ff. V. 31: "A small folio, on parchment, containing ff. 181, with double columns of 41 ll. each. Written A. D. 1299. 'Vite Sanctorum Auree (*sic*) compile a quodam Fratre Predicatore.' sc. Jacobo de Voragine. . . . At the end is 'Istud librum scripsit Helias Toreni presbiter A. D. MCCXCIX. anima ejus requiescat in pace. Amen.'" In a correction (vol. V, 596) Luard adds: "This copy, which professes to have been transcribed a year after

the author's death, contains only 123 legends, while the ordinary genuine text contains 177. There are many remarkable differences in the text; and it is possible that this is an early recension of the author's. None of the other copies in Cambridge contain a corresponding text." Another early ms. is mentioned by Ward, II, 464, *Egert.* 1117. The *Egert. Catal.* does not specify it as a *Legenda ms.*, but agrees with Ward in dating it as of the end of the thirteenth century. *Stowe MS.* 49 is described as a copy of the *Legenda*, early 14th century, and *MS. Add.* 11,882 is dated 1312. In the Bodleian we find *Cod. Can. Lat. (Miscel.)* No. 183: "Codex membranaceus, in folio minori, ff. 238, anno 1309 manu Johannes Chanaverii binis columnis exaratus."

Even at this early date—in the beginning of the fourteenth century—mss. of the *Legenda* were, as we have indicated, very common, and its popularity was evidently widespread. It will be noted that the title of the *Legenda* was originally *Legenda Sanctorum, sive Historia Lombardica*. The present title is due to its popularity, just as in the case of the famous work of Apuleius (see Dunlop, II, 253–4, and I, 96, Bohn's ed.). We do not know when and how the epithet *aurea* was applied to Voragine's work. Echard says (I, 456, and Touron, 593): *Nam quod notandum est, hoc epithetum libro suo non indiderat auctor, neque etiam habent codices manuscripti, aut primae Editiones, sed fructus maximus inde reportatus tribuerat.* But that it received its complimentary title very early, perhaps even during the life of the author, is shown by the earliest ms. noticed above, where it is called *Vite Sanctorum Auree*. And the so-called translation by Jean Belet (of which we shall have more to say later), which was made early in the 14th century, begins: "Ci commence la legende des sains doree" (Paulin Paris, II, p. 88). And the title must have been already quite well known, for it is here stolen, and used as if everyone would know who were the saints whose "golden legends" are translated "de latin en françois." By the time we get to the translation by Jean de Vignay (made before 1340) we find the title fixed in its modern form. A ms. in the Bibliotheque Nationale (*Fr. No.* 241), written "lan de grace nostre seigneur mil. CCC. XLVIIJ," has this heading over the table of contents: "Ci commencent les chapitres de la legende des sains qui est dite legende doree" (see below, and cf.

Paris, II, 89); and the translator's prologue, which we find adopted by Caxton, explains the title: "Car aussi comme l'or est le plus noble sur tous les autres métaux, aussi est cette légende tenue pour plus noble sur toutes autres." The first English version (before 1438) preserves the epithet, e. g. *Douce MS.* 372: "callid in latynne *Legenda aurea*, and in English the gilte legende." And Caxton simply translates Jean de Vignay's words: "Here begynneth the legende named in latyn *legenda aurea*, that is to say in englyshe the golden legende for lyke as passeth golde in vallwe al other metallys, so thys legende exedeth all other bokes."

Its popularity, then, was both early won and remarkably great. The name may have been given by clerks, as has been suggested (Touron, 594). But the great number of translations and derivatives, in all the principal tongues of Europe, in prose and in verse, seems to me sufficient proof that its popularity was not confined to the learned, or to the preachers who wished to borrow anecdotes and tales from it. Is it not a rather remarkable fact that, in a day when the vernacular was scorned by most writers, Voragine's work should have been translated into French prose within a generation after his death?

The lustre of the *Legenda Aurea* extended to other of Voragine's works. Probably by reflection from the more famous *Legenda*, his sermons were called *aurei* (see Panzer, IV, 212, No. 1310: *J. de V. sermones aurei de tempore*, and cf. *Brit. Mus. Cat.*); and the same epithet was applied to the *Mariale* (*Ib.*, III, 417). The Middle Ages, indeed, were fond of conferring such complimentary names. We have already noticed the *Golden Ass*, and similar titles and epithets will suggest themselves to everybody: the *Doctor Seraphic* (Bonaventura); the *Dr. Angelic* (Aquinas); *Fra Angelico*; and later, the great wit and religious "trimmer" of the sixteenth century, that none might mistake his right to exist, named himself *Desiderius Erasmus*.

When the printing-press began its work the *Legenda Aurea* was among its earliest productions, and long continued to be one of the most frequently reproduced. It stands early in Panzer's chronological list of dated books (IV, 12), and was printed more than fifty times in the course of the 15th and 16th centuries. Touron says: "Il n'y eut point de livre après l'Ecriture Sainte, et ceux des

usages ordinaires, dont il se fit plus de copies ou plus de versions." Among the many editions, one, undated, is assigned to about 1469 (a copy in the Bodleian, printed by Zainer, at Ulm), and a dated one appeared at Lyons in 1473. Another is dated 1474, no place or printer's name. But for all such details I shall refer to the bibliographical authorities, merely stating here, that de Vignay's French version (revised by "le Père Battalier," cf. Echard, I, 853, and Brunet's *Manuel*) was printed at Lyons in 1476, and frequently thereafter; an Italian version was printed by Nicolo Manerbi, Venice, 1475; a Bohemian one at Pilsen, 1475, 1479, Prague, 1495; a German one at Cologne, 1485; a Dutch, one at Goude, 1478; and Caxton's English, 1483. And the high esteem in which the book was held is shown not only by the fact that so many editions were printed, but also that so many copies of them still exist (see the score or more dating from 1474 (?) to 1501, in the *British Mus. Cat.*).

But the popularity of the *Legenda* had other consequences. In the first place, it bred, or rather fostered, the love for legends which was already in the air (cf. ten Brink's *Hist. Eng. Lit.*, I, 266 f.), and produced a number of imitations. The *Catalogus of Natalibus* may be classed as one of these, and we are all familiar with numerous later and less comprehensive ones, such as, to take an English example, Osbern Bokenham's *Lyvys of Women Seyntys*. And, in the second place, a corollary from this, we soon find some of the soberer dignitaries of the Church seeking to curb the inordinate love of the *Legenda*. Echard tells us that an Archbishop of Compostella, almost contemporary with our Jacobus, took the lead in this direction. This prelate, Berengarius de Landora (b. 1262, d. c. 1330; see Echard, I, 514), ordered Bernardus Guidonis "*ut Legendam alteram ex sincerioribus actis colligeret et ederet, quod et fecit . . . quod tamen non impedivit ne Legenda Jacobi de Voragine sua brevitate commoda passim ab omnibus conquireretur et avide legeretur.*" Here we have the story of one defeated rival, who happens to be also one of the early authorities for the life of Jacobus, having written a *Brevis Historia* of the Dominicans (see Echard, I, 576, and his work in Durand's *Veterum Script.* (1729), VI, 405). But even if none of its imitators succeeded in rivalling

the popularity of the *Legenda Aurea*, the note of disapproval was even thus early sounded.

It was not long indeed, before murmurs began to be heard impeaching the famous book of high crimes and misdemeanors. Many, no doubt, objected to it before, but it was the great convulsion of the Reformation-Renaissance that, loosening all restraints, freed men's tongues and drew forth their inmost thoughts. A Carlyle might say, as he did say of the French Revolution, that the Reformation Age felt that its high mission was to sweep aside all shams. Not even the revered dicta of the *Doctor Seraphis* and his followers were exempt from the rude iconoclasm of the age, while his rival, the *Doctor Subtilis*, alias *Duns Scotus*, suffered an even more cruel fate. When whole philosophies, built up with such excruciating ingenuity, were borne to the ground, what could be the fate of a book like the *Legenda*? One of the first and most violent attacks of the reformers would naturally be directed against this sadly vulnerable point in the Church's array, viz: the absurd legends of the saints. Hear Erasmus's protest: "To these again are nearly related such others as attribute strange virtues to the shrines and images of saints and martyrs; and so would make their credulous proselytes believe, that if they pay their devotion to St. Christopher in the morning, they shall be guarded and secured the day following from all dangers and misfortunes. . . . And all the prayers and intercessions that are made to these respective saints the substance of them is no more than downright Folly." (*Encomium Morae*, Eng. trans., p. 82). Here he has gone one step in advance, and attacks the very saints themselves, instead of their legends.

Erasmus, so far as I have been able to discover, does not attack the *Golden Legend* directly and specifically; though there may be some allusion to it in that vast wilderness of letters, the index does not show it. But we shall soon see that his friends and pupils had something to say against the *Legenda*. A certain Jacobus Lacopius of Oudenarde, having become a Protestant, wrote a most violent book against Voragine's work, entitled *Deformationes Legendae Aureae*. But being later convinced of his error (probably through the rack), and reconciled to the Catholic Church, he cast his book into the flames as he himself went to death. A much

better known man, Claude d'Espence (1511–1571, see Michaud, *Biog. Universelle*), rector of the Sorbonne (1540), preached a sermon in St. Méry in 1543, and indiscreetly spoke of the *Legenda* “avec mépris,” calling it the *Legenda Ferrea*. “Edward Leigh,” says Longfellow (*Riverside Press ed.*, v, 441), “in much distress of mind, calls it ‘a book written by a man of a leaden heart for the baseness of the errours, that are without wit or reason, and of a brazen forehead, for his impudent boldnesse in reporting things so fabulous and incredible.’” Both d'Espence and Leigh borrowed their ideas and their words. Melchior Cano (ob. 1560) was one of the severest critics of the whole attitude of the popular legends, and exposed the credulity and carelessness of their compilers (in a work on the principles and sources of the theologians, called *de Locis Theologicis*, espec. cap. 6, book II). Later critics have quoted his words applied directly to the *Legenda Aurea*; and Dupin says (Touren, p. 599): “Voici le jugement qu'en porte Melchior Cano: Cette Légende, dit-il, a été écrite par un homme qui avait la bouche de fer, et le cœur de plomb, et dont l'esprit n'était ni juste ni prudent. On y lit plutôt des monstres de miracles, que de vrais miracles.” But we have not yet run to earth this sarcasm. Touren says Dupin has “attribué à Melchior Cano des expressions tres-dures, qui ne sont pas de lui, mais de Vivès, auteur Espagnol habitué en Flandres.” In the Introduction to Bollandus's *Acta Sanctorum*, I, XXI, the author records and answers the severe criticisms of Georgius Wicelius (1501–1573), who, like his friend Erasmus, had the misfortune to stand between the two opposing factions, and so caught the abuse from both; for he was cordially hated by the monks, and clapped into prison by Luther. The account then continues: “More severe and bitter, however, is the judgment pronounced against the *Legenda Aurea* by Johannes Ludovicus Vives, lib. II *de Causis Corruptarum Artium*, in these words: ‘How unworthy of Christian men is that history of the saints which is called the *Golden Legend*, which I know not why they call ‘golden,’ since it is written by a man of iron mouth and leaden heart. What can be more vile than that book?’” But the Bollandist is hurt by this acerbity in so learned a writer, and remarks: “*Hauserat id fortassis a Desiderio Erasmo praeceptore suo, severissimo Aristarcho.*”

The opinion of Vives, who was well known in England, of course (he was professor at Oxford from 1523 to 1529), is repeated by Bp. Jewel: "Ludovicus Vives, writing of your *Legenda Aurea*, which was the mother of all your devout ecclesiastical stories or fables, saith thus:" etc. (see Parker Soc. ed., 1850, p. 816). And Thomas Becon, before he learned the error of his ways, wrote: "The Synagogue of Satan hath a great delight to hear . . . narrations out of English *Festival*, saints' lives out of *Legenda Aurea*," etc. (see Parker Soc., 1844, p. 199-200, and cf. pp. 234, 519 and 535). The Protestants at Geneva, too, loved to fill the margins of the *Legenda* with sarcastic and ironical remarks, so that many of the old editions are quite curious on this account (see *Oeuvres de La Fontaine*, *Grands Ecrivains* series, 1887, IV, p. 334, note). And, of course, that "sturdy iconoclast" and vicious critic, John Bale, has no good word for the saints. In his *English Votaries* (London, 1550, p. 23 f.) he has an amusing account of:

"Ursula and her xi thousand companions," of whom "have the spiritual Hypocrites by the healpe of their spirituall father the Deuyll practised innumerable lies. . . . They saye, they all vowed virginite, . . . and so went . . . to Rome on pilgrimage with greate deuotion ii and ii together, and were honourably receiued ther of the Pope and his cleargy. If thys be not good ware, tel me. I thincke there wanteth no spirytual occupying, for the time they were there, if the story were true. . . . Diuerslye is this holy legende handled of *Jacobus Bergomas*, . . . *Vorago*, . . . *Caxton*, *Capgraue*, . . . and a great sort more. . . . Their going out of Brytany was to become honest Christen mens wiues, and not to go no Pilgrimage to Rome."

There is no such virulence of word or feeling in the passage I shall quote from the great reformer himself.

Luther undoubtedly felt about the *Legenda* just as Vives and Erasmus did. Here are a few significant passages from his *Table Talk* (Bohn's ed., 1857, p. 328). "Few of the legends are pure; the legends of the martyrs are least corrupted, who proved their faith by the testimony of their blood. The legends of the hermits, who dwell in solitudes, are abominable, full of lying miracles and fooleries, touching moderation, chastity and nurture."

He clings to the legend of *St. Christopher*, but not as a true story, merely as a beautiful allegory of man's journey through the world, bowed down beneath a burden, and crossing a raging sea (the world), whose waves are the ills of the world and the wiles of the devil.

"'Tis one of the devil's proper plagues that we have no good legends of the saints, pure and true. Those we have are stuffed so full of lies, that, without heavy labour, they cannot be corrected. . . . He that disturbed Christians with such lies was doubtless a desperate wretch, who surely has been plunged deep in hell. Such monstrosities did we believe in Popedom, but then we understood them not. Give God thanks, ye that are freed and delivered from them and from still more ungodly things."

But one might fill a volume with more or less direct and more or less scurrilous references to the *Legenda*, and the carrying of coals to Newcastle is certainly no less tedious than unnecessary. A few of the later hits at the *Legenda* must not, however, be overlooked. And first among these I should mention a famous pamphlet by a certain crop-eared Roundhead: the *Legenda Ligneæ*, London, 1652-3, by W. Prynne. Its very title is evidence that Voragine's work was still familiar; and the scurrilous notices of certain well-known "sillie seekers, . . . slips of the time, transplanted to Rome," are still read, but not as the author intended; for we now seek in this pamphlet not comforting bits of bitter Protestantism, but scattered biographical facts about some of the well-known men of the day: stray notes about Crashaw, Davenant, Rowlands, Kenelm Digby, Endimion Porter, and others of less note, are preserved in the lava of Prynne's bitter outpourings.

Another work which makes free with the title of our *Legenda* is the *Légende Dorée de St. Dominique*, by Nicholas Vignier, Leyden, 1608. This is rather anti-monastic than strictly anti-Catholic in tone, and we do not find the usual violent denunciations of Voragine, whom Vignier quotes, from an edition printed at "Lion, par Nicolas de Benedictis, aux despens de Jacques Huguetan l'an 1505."

In the true spirit of the age of Voltaire—the Voltaire who scrupled not to defame Jeanne Darc—is: *La Nouvelle Légende Dorée*, by Sylvain Maréchal, Bruxelles, 1790. It deals only with the women saints, whose legends naturally furnish an easier mark

for such a critic, and contains a mock-pious dedication to "mon cher pasteur" from the (*ex tempore*) nephew of Baillet the hagiographer, "le grand dénicheur de saints." The author is a past-master in the *double entendre*, and this is the sum and substance of his wit, of which a fair sample is the motto suggested for *Maria Aegyptiaca*, vol. II, p. 46: "*Lassiata, sed non satiata viris.*" But there is a touch of frank fun in the statement (II, p. 138) that St. Theresa and her brother inspired their imaginations by reading "la vie des saints et les aventures de Robinson Crusoë." The sneaking irreverence of the whole style, however, rather makes one sympathize with the remark of a former owner, who has written on the title-page of the second volume (Bodleian copy): "Of such a work as this one has said: Surely this Book was printed in Hell and the author was the Devil."

The last work of this kind that I shall mention has a special interest. It is a pamphlet entitled *Catholic Miracles*, by G. Cruikshank, London, 1825. There are seven characteristic illustrations by the author, whose work was written chiefly to answer Cobbett's *History of the Reformation*. He gives, in modernized form, 25 stories of miracles from the *Golden Legend*, and 2 whose sources are not indicated. The laughable miracles of *St. Nicholas* are largely represented; and we find, too, the *Seven Sleepers*. The stories are taken from Wynkyn de Worde's edition of the *Golden Legend*, 1527.

Let me close this over long list by two quotations from modern writers of widely different ideas. Isaac Disraeli says (*Curiosities of Lit.*, p. 149): "The enviable title of *Golden Legend*, by which James de Voragine called his work, has been disputed; iron or lead might more aptly describe its character"—what long life there is in a sarcasm! Finally, Mme. Blavatsky, whose scurrility is quite as bad as the alleged indecency of Voragine, says (*Isis Unveiled*, II, p. 74): "The finest quintessence of Boccaccio's *Decameron* appears prudery itself by comparison with the filthy realism of the *Golden Legend*." With less rhetoric and more justice she brands it as "that prolific repository of pious lies, the *Golden Legend*."

The recording of all these long buried sarcasms has, I fear, seemed a tedious and futile labor. But, in a sketch of the history

of the *Legenda Aurea*, I did not think they should be omitted. For they may help us to account for a very curious result, to which, of course, other and more powerful causes contributed, viz: the sudden decline of the popularity of the *Legenda*. If you will look in Brunet and the *Brit. Mus. Cat.* you will note one remarkable fact, that the *Brit. Mus.*, for example, has a Latin edition, Lyons, 1526; another, Lyons, 1554; and then there is a gap in dates of nearly three hundred years, to Graesse's ed., Dresden, 1846. The hostility of the critics whose opinions I have given, perhaps not less than the general decline of the taste for legends, had evidently so destroyed the popularity, nay, the very good name of the *Legenda Aurea*, that it ceased to be a paying publication for the printer. For nearly three hundred years, if we may take this *Catalogue* as a gauge, the public wanted no more of this *Golden Legend*, whether in Latin, French, or English.

Though probably little read during its long eclipse, it never ceased to be criticised. And its name has survived as a vague and pleasant memory of those old days, and of the monks whom some of us are quite ready to envy:

"I envy them, those monks of old;
Their books they read, and their beads they told."

E. The standard edition of the Latin text is that of Graesse, Dresden and Leipzig, 1846 (second ed. in 1850). This edition contains, in all, 243 legends, of which 182 are ascribed to Jacobus, the rest being by various unnamed scribes. And of the 182 about 20 are rather doctrinal or theological sermons than legends, viz: cap. I, *de adventu domini*; cap. VI, *de nativitate domini*; cap. XIII, *de circumcisione domini*; cap. XIV, *de epiphania domini*; cap. XXXI, *de septuagesima*; cap. XXXII, *de sexagesima*; cap. XXXIII, *de quinquagesima*; cap. XXXIV, *de quadragesima*; cap. XXXV, *de jejuniis quatuor temporum*; cap. XXXVII, *de purificatione beatae Mariae*; cap. LI, *de annuntiatione dominica*; cap. LIII, *de passione domini*; cap. LIV, *de resurrectione domini*; cap. LXX, *de letania maiori et minori*; cap. LXXII, *de ascensione domini*; cap. LXXIII, *de sancto spirito*; cap. CXIX, *de assumptione beatae Mariae*; cap. CXXXI, *de nativitate beatae Mariae*; cap. CLXXXII, *de dedicatione ecclesiae*. But, of course, legendary matter is blended in most of these; and

this is especially the case with those chapters dealing with the Virgin, when a list of miracles is almost invariably appended.

The title-page of Graesse's edition reads: *Jacobi a Voragine / Legenda Aurea / Vulgo Historia Lombardica Dicta. / Ad optimorum librorum fidem / recensuit / Dr. Th. Graesse, / potentissimum regis Saxoniae bibliothecarius. / Cum approbatione Rev. administratoris ecclesiastici / per superiorem Lusatiam. // Dresdae et Lipsiae / impensis Librariae Arnoldianae. / MDCCCXLVI.*

In his very short Preface Graesse tells us that he feared the work would be too voluminous with his notes, so he omits them, which is a matter of serious regret. The only important indications he gives are contained in the following bit: "*Unde nunc sufficiet monuisse, me manum auctoris optime redditam invenisse in editione illa ab Eberto (Lexic. Bibliogr. T. I., p. 872 sq., nr. 10672^b) (vol. I, p. 831, ed. 1837; assigned to 1472) accuratius descripta atque in publica bibliotheca regia Dresdensi asservata. Qua de re textum ad hunc librum, quem in notitulis Edit. Princ. nomine designavi, constituendum atque ope optimae notae codicum emendandum censui,*" etc. The work of Voragine himself ends with the following colophon, which is not in what Graesse calls the first edition: *Explicit Legenda aurea sive Lombardica historia Jacobi de Voragine ordinis praedicatorum episcopi Januensis.* Similar words occur in all the editions I have seen, including the one printed at Ulm about 1469 (in Bodleian, see above). Graesse adds, in dreadfully small print, 61 legends *a quibusdam aliis superadditae*, but makes no effort to identify their authors or establish their dates. None of these legends have the etymological introductions usual in the original work ("*etymologias illas perversissimas, quibus maxime claudicat Jacobus noster,*") and of which I shall have more to say later.

The manifest shortcomings of Graesse's edition are only in part compensated for by the French translation, which appeared three years earlier (*La légende dorée . . . traduite par M. G. B(runet), Paris, 1843*), for here, too, there are no indications of sources, and, alas, the etymologies are not translated—perhaps, because M. Brunet found them too tough to translate. But the biographical sketch is useful, being perhaps the most accurate I have seen. As to the contents of this translation as compared with the Latin, I must sum up here by saying, that there are few differences, except in order,

until we near the end. Then we find that the last thirteen legends of the French are not found in the Latin at all; most of these appear to be such as were not by Voragine or his earlier imitators; on p. 268, vol. II, is a note, saying: "Les légendes qui suivent ne sont pas l'oeuvre de Jacques de Voragine." The French omits some of the treatises on special days (e. g. cap. CCXVII, *de Dominica in ramis palmarum*) and special rites and ceremonies (e. g. cap. CCXVIII, *de Coena Domini*).

The text from which the French translation was taken must have been, essentially, the same as that given by Graesse; for wherever compared they will be found to correspond pretty closely, except that the French take less pains in arranging the order of the different episodes in the various legends (this may be noticed in many legends, as *St. Ursula*, *Seven Sleepers*, *Simon Magus*, etc.).

CHAPTER II. THE FRENCH VERSIONS.

A. One of the authors most frequently named in the *Legenda Aurea* is *magister Johannes Beleth* (see, e. g., in Graesse, p. 16, note, pp. 304, 312, 374, etc., and in Brunet, I, pp. 19, 108, 117, 294, etc. And yet the first French version of the *Legenda* is ascribed, too, to a Jean Belet, or Beleth, though the *Encyclopædia Brît.* does solve the matter by naming an imaginary "Jean Belet de Vigny" as the first translator. Now it does seem very odd that two persons of the same name should be thus intimately associated with the *Golden Legend*: and thereby hangs a tale. The John Beleth cited in the text of the *Legenda* is rather an obscure person. The best sketch of him will be found in the *Histoire Littéraire de France*, vol. XIV, p. 218, by Daunou. He places Beleth as flourishing *circa* 1182, though noting that others have given 1200; between 1195 and 1210; in the 13th century; even in the 14th century, in 1320–28; but he is mentioned by Albéric de Trois-Fontaines (end of the 13th century). And in the list of his works there is no hint of a translation of the *Legenda*. For other notices I shall refer to Casimir Oudini: *Commentarii de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis* (Leipzig, 1722), vol. II, 1589; Dupin's *Hist. of Ecclesiastical Writers* (Dublin, 1724), II, 426; Paris's *MSS. François*, II, 87; Michaud's *Biographie Univ.*, III, 530. This Belet was a theological writer,

and we have one well-known work by him : *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum* (*Summa Officium*), which will be found in Migne's *Patrol. Lat.*, vol. CCII, 9-166 ; it is also known as *Summa de Officiis*, and by similar titles. It is to this work that Jacobus often refers. MS. Addit. 29,882 (Brit. Mus.) is a 13th century copy of Beleth's *Summa de Officiis*, which I have examined. And, though my work in this field is lamentably imperfect, I have taken the trouble to verify some of Voragine's references. The matter is such an important one, especially in view of the suggestion I shall make later, that I shall give the most striking passages which have been identified.

The references will be to Migne's edition. In the legend of *Julian Apostata* we find (p. 143) a reference to Beleth ; cf. the latter's words (cap. 125, col. 131-2) : "*Ferunt Julianum monachum fuisse et magnum religionis simulatorem, adeo ut quaedam mulier tres ollas auro onustas, ita ut in earum orificiis aurum cinere cooperiretur, ne facile inveniretur, apud eum deposuerit,*" etc., almost literally adopted by Jacobus. Compare also *Leg.* p. 146 (and 152), where Beleth is cited, with his words (cap. 78, col. 84 ; see also cap. 77, and col. 62) : *Sic quoque aliam habet originem Septuagesima. Nam cum propter venerationem diei Ascensionis, in qua natura nostra coelos ascendit exaltata vel ultra choros angelorum,* etc. Again, *Leg.* p. 312, where Voragine seems to have slightly misunderstood, and Beleth, cap. 126, col. 133 : *Praeterea animadvertamus Christi apostolos sive discipulos non ideo fuisse passos, quod Christum praedicabant, sed quod ipsum deificabant ac Deum esse aiebant sine Romanorum auctoritate.* Compare *Legenda* p. 421-2 with the following (cap. 140, col. 144) : "*Tandem [Jacobus] ab ipso Herode fuit obtruncatus. Tum magi illi, qui jam ejus facti erant discipuli, cum aliis tribus eisdem discipulis, cum corpore in navim ascenderunt, et sese sine rectore mari commiserunt, ut ei divina providentia sepulturae locum tribueret. Tandem navis illa Hispaniae applicuit ad regnum Lupae. Erat autem tum temporis regina quaedam in Hispania isthoc nomine, cujus vita et mores nomini plene conveniebant,*" etc.—almost a page has been taken, with few changes, by Voragine. Finally, *Leg.*, p. 574, and Beleth, cap. 147, col. 151 : "*Non desunt qui putant B. Theclam digitum S. Joannis, qui comburi non potuit, ex oris transmarinis detulisse in Mauritaniam,*" etc. Several more

might be added, and one short one will be pardoned me (cap. 164, col. 165—*Leg.*, p. 16, note): "*Cognoscere operae pretium est Andream colore fuisse nigro, barba proliza ac statura mediocri*," a quotation which Graesse, for some unexplained reason, refuses to admit as a genuine portion of the text.

This is quite enough evidence to prove how thoroughly conversant Voragine was with this theological work of Belet's. But we have now to discuss, after this seemingly aimless digression, the so-called *légende des saints dorés* (or *dorée*) of maistre Jean Belet. When I first examined this French *légende* I discovered at once that it was in many points different from the *Legenda*, and the differences augmented in a startling manner as I grew more familiar with the ms. It certainly is not a translation of the work of Voragine. The whole work is much longer. There are many new saints, and yet several old ones are omitted. A large number of the better known legends are treated at far greater length than in the *Legenda*, and some of them, even when no longer, differ radically in essential points. The differences are, indeed, far greater than in the case of the revised de Vignay versions, such as the one whose plan Caxton followed; for here the changes are chiefly changes in order, and added lives, not expansion of those already compiled by Voragine. Basing my opinion on these general differences, as well as on slight bits of particular evidence which I shall give, I have been led to believe that we have in this version either an entirely new compilation made in French, or, possibly, a translation from such a compilation in Latin. It might not be too much to suggest that this Latin original was the work of Jean Belet the theologian, one of the sources of the *Legenda*, and perhaps referred to by Jacobus in certain references which I have not been able to verify—notably, in the *Legend of the Cross*, on p. 304. It is quite possible, however, that the work really followed the *Legenda* in time, and that the name of Belet became associated with the whole work as translator merely because of the frequent occurrence of his name in legends taken from Voragine.

Here is the table of contents of this version, and description of the various mss. I have examined.

MS. Français No. 183, Bibliothèque Nationale (ancien numéro 6845). This ms. has been described by Paris (II, p. 87 ff.), and I

shall quote him, correcting a few small errors. "La légende dorée, de J. de Voragine, traduite par Jean Belet. Un volume in-folio maximo, vélin, trois colonnes (48 *lines*), miniatures, vignettes et initiales, XIV^{me} siècle. Relié en maroquin citron, aux armes de France sur les plats." The ms. is, indeed, a very handsome one. There is a table of contents, containing 246 numbered chapters; but two of them come after the colophon ("Explicit les Chapistres de la vie des sains,") namely, "la vie monseigneur S. eloy," and "la vie monseigneur S. Thomas de cantorbie." I have sought to give the contents, however, without depending on the table, from actual examination of the ms. At the head of the chapter on Advent comes the rubric given by Paris: "Ci commence la legende des sains doree . . . la quele a translatee de latin en francois mestre iehā belet," etc. Most of this page is filled by an illumination representing, in panels, appropriate scenes from the lives of the Virgin and Christ. "Le volume contient 249 feuillets, la table non comprise, et finit avec la vie de" *St. Eloy*. In giving the contents I have been forced to give, in most cases, English titles, as the originals were in many cases abnormally long.

CAP.	FOL.		CAP.	FOL.	
1 ...	1	... Prologue.	16 ...	23 b	... Martinian and Procs.
2 ...	2	... Advent.	17 ...	24	... St. Andrew.
3 ...	5	... Nativity.	18 ...	31 b	... St. Bartholomew.
4 ...	6	... Annoncement aus pas- toriaus.	19 ...	34	... St. James, Brother of John.
5 ...	6 b	... Magi (Epiphany).	20 ...	36 b	... Miracles of St. James (8 sections).
6 ...	7	... Circumcision.	21 ...	45	... St. John the Evange- list.
7 ...	8	... Comment li 12 princes de la loy (accuse- rent) J. C. qui de- struisoit la loy.	22 ...	48	... St. Philip.
8 ...	8	... Cmt. nre. sire entra ou pretoire and les en- seignes s'enclinerent.	23 ...	49	... St. Maci (Matthew).
9 ...	9	... Crucifixion.	24 ...	53	... Sts. Simon and Jude.
10 ...	10	... Descent from Cross.	25 ...	57	... St. Mark.
11 ...	12	... Harrowing of Hell.	26 ...	58	... Assumption.
12 ...	13	... Conversion of St. Paul.	27 ...	59 b	... Burial of Our Lady.
13 ...	14	... St. Paul comes to Rome.	28 ...	60 b	... Mary Magdalen.
14 ...	17 b	... Passion of St. Peter.	29 ...	63 b	... Martha.
15 ...	20 b	... Passion of St. Paul.	30 ...	67	... Mathieu (Mathias).
			31 ...	69	... Mary Aegyptiaca.
			32 ...	73	... St. Luke.
			33 ...	74	... St. Clement.

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CAP.	FOL.		CAP.	FOL.	
34 ...	76 ...	St. Mauritius.	62 ...	176 ...	St. Jerome.
35 ...	77 b ...	St. Barnabas.	63 ...	177 ...	Vie d'un chetif moine- de S. Jerome.
36 ...	78 ...	St. Theodore.	64 ...	180 ...	St. Pol le Simple.
37 ...	78 b ...	St. Ossimart, roi d'An- gleterre.	65 ...	181 ...	St. John Baptist.
38 ...	79 b ...	St. Anastasia.	66 ...	185 ...	Ordonance des Apos- tres & vie de St. Etienne.
39 ...	85 ...	St. Foy.	67 ...	185 b ...	Sta. Crissaunt & Darie..
40 ...	86 b ...	St. Margaret.	68 ...	188 b ...	St. Leonard.
41 ...	89 b ...	St. Ursula.	69 ...	191 ...	Sta. Ernoul & Escal- iberge.
42 ...	92 ...	St. Cristine.	70 ...	195 ...	St. Quiriacus (Holy Cross).
43 ...	96 b ...	St. Caecilia.	71 ...	195 b ...	St. Thomas Becket.
44 ...	99 b ...	St. Catherine.	72 ...	199 ...	St. Longin.
45 ...	106 ...	Passion of St. Andrew.	73 ...	201 ...	St. George.
46 ...	108 ...	St. Lucie.	74 ...	204 ...	St. Pantaleon.
47 ...	109 b ...	St. Agnes.	75 ...	209 ...	St. Sixtus.
48 ...	112 ...	St. Giles.	76 ...	211 ...	St. Laurence.
49 ...	115 ...	St. Alexis.	77 ...	213 b ...	St. Hippolitus.
50 ...	118 ...	St. Thomas Apostre.	78 ...	215 b ...	St. Vincent.
51 ...	121 ...	St. James Minor.	79 ...	218 ...	St. Julian Hospitaller et als.
52 ...	122 ...	St. Brandan.	80 ...	227 ...	Sta. Cosme & Damien..
53 ...	130 ...	St. Victor.	81 ...	231 b ...	St. Eustace.
54 ...	131 ...	St. Marcel.	82 ...	236 b ...	St. Felix.
55 ...	141 ...	St. Nicholas.	83 ...	237 ...	St. Gregory.
56 ...	151 ...	St. Nicholas. (Trans- lation).	84 ...	242 ...	St. Patrick (Purga- tory).
57 ...	155 ...	St. Jerome.	85 ...	248 ...	St. Eloy.
58 ...	157 ...	St. Benedict.			
59 ...	165 b ...	St. Martin de Tours.			
60 ...	174 b ...	" " "			
		(Translation).			
61 ...	175 ...	St. Brice.			

MS. Français, No. 185, Bibliothèque Nationale (ancien numéro 6845⁴⁴). This, too, is described by Paris (*loco cit.*), but I shall not take the trouble to transcribe what he says, merely making certain comments of my own. In size the MS. was originally the same as No. 183, and contains 48 lines, three cols., to the page. The miniatures are much smaller, and not so good, and the table of contents is in plain black, not in red, beginning with (blank space left for later insertion of initial)—“e sont les Rubriques de la legende doree. Premierement des · i i i j · temps · De laduenement,” etc. Here we find an arrangement of the contents similar to that in the Brit. Mus. MS. Addit. 17, 275, viz: all the feasts specially connected with

Christ and the Virgin are put first, then those "Des apostres · Des Confesseurs · des vierges." But the actual order in the ms. does not agree at all with this plan, for it is really much the same as in ms. 183, but with various additions. It seems hardly necessary to transcribe the contents where the ms. agrees with No. 183, so I shall merely note the legends which are added. We begin, as in the preceding ms., with a Prologue, and the rubric: "Ci commence la legende des sains, premierement des · i i i j · tēs Et puis apres de lauenement." The order is the same through No. 11 (*Harrowing of Hell*). Several legends are repeated (indicated by an *).

FOL.		FOL.	
15	... De Letaniis.	231 b	... Gordian.
16	... Ascension.	<i>Ib.</i>	... Nereus & Achilleus.
18	... Pentecost.	232	... Pancras.
21	... Nativ. Mariae.	232	... Urban.
75	... Decol. John Baptist.	<i>Ib.</i>	... Prime & Felicien.
77	... *Crissant (<i>bis</i> , 123).	233	... Vite & Modeste.
79	... *Leonard (<i>bis</i> , 126).	233 b	... Quirite & Julite.
81	... *Christopher (<i>bis</i> , 111).	234 b	... Sept Dormans.
174	... Paulinus.	235 b	... Celse & Nazarien.
191 b	... Genovefa (3 caps.).	236 b	... Simplicius & Faustina.
201	... Calixtus.	237	... Abdon & Senne.
201 b	... Vedastus.	<i>Ib.</i>	... Germain.
<i>Ib.</i>	... Amandus.	238	... Eusebius.
202	... Denys (7 chapters).	239	... Machabees.
209 b	... Arsenien.	<i>Ib.</i>	... Etienne Pape.
210	... Valentin.	239 b	... Etienne Protomartyr (In- ventio).
211 b	... Anthony of Egypt.	240 b	... Dominick.
211	... Hilary.	246	... Donatus.
213	... Remy.	246 b	... Timothy.
214	... Lambert.	<i>Ib.</i>	... Symphorien.
217	... Juliana.	247	... Augustin.
218	... Petronella.	251 b	... Sesne & Sauine (= Navi- nean).
<i>Ib.</i>	... Fursin.	252	... Lupus (Leu).
219	... Holy Cross (Inventio).	252 b	... Martin Pastor.
222	... Agatha.	253	... Adrian.
223	... Elizabeth.	<i>Ib.</i>	... Prothe & Jacincti.
227 b	... Ignace.	254 b	... Gorgonien.
228	... Blaise.	255 b	... Cornelius.
229	... Secundus.	<i>Ib.</i>	... Eufamie.
229 b	... Marcellin.	256 b	... Justine.
230	... Vital.		
<i>Ib.</i>	... Virgine d'Antioche.		

the King's Library to be the *original* (*sic*) Translation it was completed about 1210 the same ms. exists in the Royal Collection without the Translator's name, being only a *Copy* of the present work and a century posterior to the execution of this manuscript." I have not been able to find the duplicate referred to; most likely the Vignay ms., Royal 19, B. xvii (see below) was thus carelessly spoken of. On the first folio is a miniature ("there are 186 in all, not counting capitals,") and under it this rubric: "Ci commencēt les chapistres de la uie des sains & des saintes." The table begins: "Ci commencēt les rebriches de la uie des sains laquele maistre Jehan beleth translata de latin en romās. Et par le premierement des · iiij · temps," etc. The table is far more descriptive than usual, furnishing almost what one might call a syllabus of contents. There are 219 numbered chapters, which includes the *Prologue*, *Advent* being counted as cap. 2. Here, too, several legends are repeated. I shall note only the additions. There is a very long series of legends about the Virgin; one of these, cap. 26, is *St. Theophilus*. After cap. 35, *Mary Magdalene*, we find: "Ci apres commencent les fais des apostres et des evangelistes." Chapters 42–61, inclusive, are devoted to *St. James Maior* and his miracles. After cap. 72, *Conversion of St. Paul* we find again: "Ci apres sont les martirs tout en ordre." As in the ms. Fr. 185, *St. Denys* is treated at great length. After *St. Christopher*, cap. 120: "Ci apres commencent les Confessors." After cap. 141, which is a continuation of *St. Patrick's Purgatory*, come cap. 142 (fol. 253, b.): "Sts. Thelyan et Daiud," and cap. 143: "St. Daud." Other added legends are (Nos. 151–152): *St. John Eleemosynary*; (No. 160) *St. Edouard roi*; (No. 148) *St. Paul the Hermit*; (Nos. 185–187) *St. Mathelin*—after whom comes: "Ci apres commencent les uies des Vierges." Here the new lives are (No. 193) *St. Helen*, substantially the same as the *Holy Cross*; (No. 195) *St. Colomba*; (No. 196) *St. Paula*.

Having now three more or less complete mss. before us, let us see whether there are many important differences from the *Legenda Aurea*. The *Prologue* is rather paraphrased than translated from the Latin, p. 1. The chapter on *Advent* is a fair translation from the Latin, but the *Nativity* is not, being much shorter; nor does the *Epiphany* seem to be based on Voragine. The chapters on

Septuagesima—Quadragesima are from the *Legenda* text. And the first two paragraphs of the *Nativity* are a fair translation of the same in *Legenda* VI, pp. 39–40. The chapters on *Litanies*, *Ascension*, *Pentecost*, *Nativity of Virgin*, *Theophilus*, *Purification*, are much the same as the corresponding Latin, but certain miracles of the Virgin seem to be omitted, and the order is generally different. The *Holy Cross* is quite different from the *Legenda*, both in order and detail. It begins, on fol. 33 (Addit. ms.): “En lan de lincarnacion nostre seigneur, · ij^o et · xxxiiij · ans, du regnement du uillant empereur de rome continueur de contentinoble (*sic*) el siste an de son regnement estoient maintes gens assemblees sus la rüe de dimon (*sic*) . . . quant il fu noncie a lempereur constantin,” etc. This same legend is repeated on fol. 289 b–292 b—*St. Helen*. All the earlier story about the origin of the wood of the Cross, etc., is omitted. After the passage quoted, we find Constantine’s vision, and then Helen is sent to Jerusalem. The narrative is quite different from the *Legenda*, omitting many details, and yet giving many not found in the *Legenda*. Nothing is told of St. Helen’s origin, and most of the detail about the nails of the Cross, and the final *narratio* of the Notary, are omitted. The legends of *St. John* (*Evangelist*), *St. Philip*, *St. Matthew*, *Simon & Jude*, *Mark*, and *Bartholomew*, are different in many respects from the *Legenda* text. The legend of *St. James the Greater* is almost decisive against the view that this work is translated from Voragine. Here we find a legend occupying nine chapters, covering, in Add. ms., ten folios (56–66 b), a great deal longer than the *Legenda*, and quite different. Even more different is the legend dealing with the various Julians. That of *Julian Hospitaller* is more than twice as long as the *Legenda*, and the whole is confessedly based on different sources, for it begins: “Uns preudons raconte la uie saint iuliē que il a translatee de latin en rommās . . . Il furent · ij · iuliens, li uns martirs et li autres confessors.” The chapter on *Cosme & Damien* is also very different from, and longer than the *Legenda*, extending from fol. 111 to 114.

But the legend of *St. Donat* is quite the same as in the Latin. And the *Sept Dormans* is also quite the same, even to the final sentences to which I referred above. It ends (ms. Fr. 185, fol. 235 b., cf. Add. ms., fol. 172 b., where the first sentence is omitted): “Il

puet bien estre douteuse chose que il dormirent si com il est dit ·
 iij^o · et LXxij · ans. Likel resusciterent lan nostre seigneur
 · iiii^o · XLvii ans (*sic.*) · Decius regna · j · an tant seulement.
 Ce est asauoir lan de nre seigneur CCLij. Et aïsi ne dormirent que
 · iij^o · & · vj · ās” (here the numbers agree with what Graesse calls
 Ed. Prin., cf. p. 436, n.). The variants in the Addit. ms. are quite
 marked, so I quote these closing words from it (fol. 172 b.):
 “Adonques commanda li empereres celui [lieu] a tourner (*sic*) em-
 pierres dorees & touz ceus assoudre qui ceste resurrection confes-
 seront [so far also ms. Fr. 185]. Decius regna · j · an tant seule-
 ment. Ce est asauoir en lan de nre seign^r · iij^o · Lij. Et ainsi ne
 dormirent q̄ · iij^o · iiii · ou trois ans.”

Another typical legend that is quite distinct from the *Legenda* is
 that of *St. Thomas of Canterbury*. From this I shall quote some
 lines of the beginning, based on ms. Queen's Coll., Oxford, No.
 305, f. 109, but with certain emendations, not worth noting, from
 ms. Add. 17,275, fol. 146, b.; Fr. 183, fol. 195, b.; and 185, fol. 87.
 It begins with a sort of hortatory exordium, which fills about half
 a column in the Add. ms.:

“Mi chier filz ceste feste doit estre celebree a grant sollempnite
 par uraie deuocion, En la quele mō seigneur s̄ thomas de cantur-
 biere, qui conseilz de pes (pais) estoit, recut martire. Quar sa mort
 est precieuse a lesgart de dieu & les sains & les bons cretiens.
 Car il se combatit uertueusement iusqua la mort pour deffēdre le-
 glise. Telle mort est adroit appelee naissance qui fait lōme viure
 en vie perdurable. Ceste vie presente est chaitiue & mortelle,
 & la mors est benoite, par cui len va en vie perdurable. Ainsi fit
 le glorieus martirs s. thō, car par sa precieuse mort il est es ioies de
 paradis. Il chaina la terre au ciel, & laissa le monde pour para-
 dis & trauail pour repous. Cilz est en terre & en mer poissans
 & regnans avec nre sire. Quant larceuesque thiebaut fu tres-
 passez de ce siecle, qui fu de bonne uiellesce & de simple memoire,
 Thōmas arceudyacres de cātorbire de leglise fu donnez et esleus a
 arceuesque et a prelat de toute engleterre, ou non de saīte trinite. et
 tantost apres pou de temps fu sacrez. Ceuls du pais auoient espe-
 rance en dieu que quant il seroit sacrez quil samenderoit en toutes
 uertus. Car prouee chose est que cils sieges est tenuz a estre siege
 de sains, ou receuoir sains, ou ilz se facēt sains par bonnes oures ou
 len le mette hors du siege.”

This quotation is, perhaps, more than sufficient to show what a different version we have from that in the *Legenda*. It is somewhat longer, but all the miracles (Lat. pp. 68–69, §§ 3–6) are omitted. It ends, as it began, with a sort of sermon, after describing how he was killed, and how a clerk had his arm cut off (this is shown in the accompanying miniature in Add. ms.) while trying to shield the martyr. The legend, in this ms., occupies almost two complete folios, which shows its greater length.

The *St. Christopher* (ms. Fr. 185, f. 81, and f. 111, and in others) is also longer than the *Legenda*, and quite different. But most of the legends in this ms. coming after *Genevieve*, such as *Calixt*, *Vedast*, *Valentine*, and all of those after *Marcellinus* (fol. 229 b.) are close enough to the *Legenda* to show that they were translated from the same text. Neither of the *Jeromes* in ms. 183 is translated from the *Legenda*, though the first, “St. Jerome confessor nre seigneur” (fol. 155, b., cf. *Leg.* p. 653), is similar to the Latin. The second is called “St. Jerome qui translata la bible de grec en latin.”

But the last of the well-established *Legenda* stories which I shall note in its new dress is one that interests us particularly. This is the legend of *St. Patrick*. I quote from ms. Fr. 185, fol. 186 b, but shall give variants from other mss. when of significance, using mss. Fr. 183, fol. 242; Addit., fol. 249; Queen’s Col., fol. 137; ms. Français, Bibl. Nat., No. 413, fol. 227—see below:

“A celui temps que saint patrice li grans preeschoit en yrlande de la parole dieu nostre sires conferma son preeschement par glorieus miracles. Saint patrice trouua les gens de cele terre si sauuaiges a creance [Q. C. has *de si male creance*] comme se se fussent bestes, & il mist grant paine a euls enseigner et souuent lor parloit des tormens denfer & des ioies de paradis [Q. C.] pour ce quil les cuidoit par la doubtaunce des tormenz retraire de leur mescreance & de pechie, . . . [continues thus, telling of the saint’s troubles, but omits the story of the sheep]. . . . Et nre sires sapparut ali si comme il auoit fait aultre fois, & li donna le liure des euangeles (!) & · i · baston. . . . [with which he draws the circle, etc.]. . . . Au temps [ms. Fr. 185, f. 187, b.] le roy esteuenon qui fu roy denleterre auint que uns chevaliers qui auoit non oieus [*sic*; Q. C. *oiens*, and same in Fr. 413] se vint confessier a lesuesque en cui eueschie cil purgatoires est. Quant li euesques ot oie sa confession

il le commenca mlt ablasmer pour ses peschiez, & li dist quil auoit mlt nre seigneur courroucie. Si en fu li chevaliers moult dolens, si pensa mlt comment il pourroit faire digne penance de ses pechiez. si comme li euesque li uouloit chargier penitence tele cōme il ueoit que ses pechiez requeroient, li chevaliers li dist, ie prendrai toute la plus grief penitance de toutes les autres, car ie enterrai ou purgatoire saint patrice."

I have quoted thus much of this most interesting departure from the regular *Legenda* form merely because it was of interest. The version here embodied in this so-called translation of the *Legenda Aurea* is well known as that of Henry of Saltrey, and has been printed, though very incorrectly, by P. Tarbé: *Li Purgatoire di Saint Patrice. Société des Bibliophiles de Reims*, 1842. I shall quote here a note for which I am indebted to Mr. George Philip Krapp, who has made special investigations of the St. Patrick legends. He says: "This version is a somewhat abbreviated form of Henry [of Saltrey]'s account, lacking the Prologue and some of the adventitious episodes. It is apparently carelessly printed, and the editor knows very little about the history of the legend; he does not know H. of Saltrey or any Latin original for his MS., [which is] evidently derived from a Latin MS. of the 2nd class" (Ward's classification, see his *Catalogue*, II p. 435 fol., pp. 452, and notice of MSS. Add. 6524, 17,275, and Royal 20 D. VI, on pp. 476, 549, 550).

But the long list of changes from the *Legenda* is not completed even yet. Rather significant words are found in several legends, particularly those not found in the *Legenda*. Thus, on fol. 200 b, of the MS. Addit. 17,275, at the end of the life of St. Thelyan: "Ci fenist laue de saint thelyan, translatee de latin en francois, que Mestre Guillaume desnes translate—Lan mil · iij^e & xxv · le iour de saint michiel archange." Note the date. Similarly on fol. 286 b. we find: "Ci fenist la uie monseign^r Saint mathelin—Translatee De rommans en latin. Quil a · vj Cens et xxxij vers." The legend of Sts. Ernoul et Escaliberge, too, is told in the first person. but has no such statement as the preceding (see MS. Fr. 183, fol. 191–194 b., and MS. 185, fol. 178, b.–181 b.); it ends: "Vous auez oi les miracles de monseigneur saint Ernoul . . . si comme ie vous ai dit au commencement." And at the end of *Crissant et*

Darie we find (ms. Fr. 183, fol. 191 ; Fr. 185, pp. 81 and 128): "Et celui qui ceste uie translata de latin en romans a non (*or*, fol. 81, si ot non) Rogier de longaistre (*or* longastre) prestre. Et si aucuns en estoit en doutance que ce ne fust (soit) vraie chose, si puet regarder en la legende, si trouera le latin selonc le rommans." After this in ms. 183, and also on fol. 81 of ms. 185, comes one of the stereotyped latin prayers, of no significance for us, which is not copied on fol. 128. This legend is also different from and longer than the *Legenda*.

The exact date given above for one of the legends in this Belet version, viz., Sept. 29th, 1325, would seem to prove that the compilation was *post-Legenda*, and not long before the Vignay translations. But, as we have seen, this Belet *légende dorée* is so radically different from Voragine's work that one is led to doubt if it be really based on the *Legenda* or on a similar Latin compilation by Johannes Beleth himself. It is true that in some places the French version refers to Beleth exactly as Voragine does ; cf. Add. ms. fol. 169 b., in the story of *Julian Apostate*: "une fame fu, ainsi comme dist mestre iehan beleth, qui estoit en loffice de (*sic*) sainte eglise. Cele fame auoit ·iiij· oules plainnes dor," etc. = *Leg.*, p. 143: *quaedam autem mulier (ut refert magister Johannes Beleth in Summa de officio ecclesiae) habens tres ollas plenas auri* (see Migne, vol. 202, col. 132,—and above). But in others the French legends give details, to which Jacobus refers as coming from Beleth, without mentioning him. For example, we quoted above parallel passages from Beleth and Voragine on the legend of St. James, which, Voragine says, Beleth "treats at length" (*diligenter exsequitur*, p. 421). Now the French version certainly does treat St. James at great length (fol. 56–66 b. in Add. ms.), and gives several details about his death and translation found neither in Voragine nor in Beleth's *Rationale* ; on fol. 58 b. we find: "Quant sains iaques fu decoles par le cōmandement abiatar et herodes ensamble, son disciple qui iosias auoit anon (text certainly corrupt here, and I am unfortunately unable to correct it from other mss.). le cors de lui demora el lieu ou il auoit este decolez tres quala nuit, pour la paour des iuis ; dont le pridrent si disciple, si lenportèrent tres que sur le riuage de la mer. et tous temps les cōduisoit (*sic*) li angles," etc. In the story of the *Decollacion St. Jean Baptiste* the French has (fol.

136): "le doi de lui . . . ne pot ardoir, si cōme len dit. Dont ces deuant dit moīnes cist doi fu trouuez. Lequel apres, si com len dist en listoire scolastique, Sainte teele, quant elle ot portees les reliques entre les mōs, elle empetra tant par ses prieres et par ses dons enuers le pape que la feste de la decollacion saīt iehan fust feste, et auior dui de monseigneur le pape fu establie que cele iournee par tot le monde fust festee"—again the reference to Beleth (Lat. p. 574) is omitted, though we get a rough version of the story as given in the Latin. We have a similar case, which I shall forbear to quote, in the legend of *St. Laurence*, Lat. p. 493, cf. MS. Ad. fol. 99 b.

So much careful work would be needed to establish the exact relations between Belet's French and the Latin *Legenda* that I need hardly offer apologies for the manifest imperfections in work which was, after all, outside my province, and to which I could devote only a very limited amount of time. All the details I have given were collected in odd moments, not systematically worked out. The question is not yet settled to my satisfaction, whether this compilation was translated as a whole from a Latin original, or whether it is really a thoroughgoing revision of the *Legenda Aurea*, with amplification of existing legends, addition of certain new ones not found, so far as I am aware, in any text of the *Legenda*, and omissions of many which were in the body of that compilation.

I shall conclude by notices of certain MSS. which contain this Belet French, in whole or in part. MS. Français 413 (Bibl. Nat., ancien numéro 7019^s, see Paris, iv, p. 30). We may add some details to Paris's description. This MS. begins with the *Nativity*. If it had been complete we should probably have had it beginning with *Advent*, and then it would have been classed as a Beleth translation of the *Legenda*. It adds to the regular stories an abridged version of the Gospels ("les · iij · grant euangilles"); and on fol. 30 we get a résumé of what has already been given, and the announcement: "Après ce oirois la vie des apostres, des euangelistes, des martirs, des confesseurs et des vierges"—exactly similar to the arrangement in the Addit. MS. The other side of the folio begins *John Bapt.*, followed, on fol. 35 b, by *Conversion of St. Paul* (agrees with that in other Beleth MSS.) and (fol. 36) *St. Peter*, etc., through the Apostles, ending with *St. Andrew*, on fol. 116 b, where

we find: "Explicit des vies des apostres nre seigneur Jhesuscris." Then comes the *Finding of the Cross*, followed by *St. Stephen* (fol. 119 b.), *St. Vincent*, *St. Longin*, etc. The names are about as usual, but on fol. 169 b. we get "Saint Aimon dangleterre."

The *Thomas of Canturbury* (fol. 176 b.) begins just like all the quasi Beleth versions: "Mes chiers filz," etc. And the *St. Julian* which follows is the same version given in the other Beleth mss. *St. Brandan* occurs on fol. 189 b. Another new legend is that of *St. Thibaut de Troyes*, fol. 201 b. On fol. 204 b. we get: "Ci finissent les vies des sains martirs nre sires Jhesuscris"—next comes *St. Augustine*, and then *St. Silvester*, etc.

On folio 227 we find: "Du purgatoire saint patrice," exactly the version given in the other Beleth mss., there being no variants worth mentioning from the versions in other mss., except that the name seems to be here *oïens*.

The lives of *St. Mor* (260) and *St. Julien du Mans* (272 b.) are unusual, and *Simeon* (274 b.), and *Fremîn* (292); *Balaam and Josaphat*, on fol. 324.

The lives of the virgins close the ms., there being few additions worth noting; the text is the same as in other Beleth mss. I have no hesitation in saying that this ms. should be classed with the other so-called translations of the *Legenda* by Beleth; though his name does not occur, so far as I was able to discover, the agreement of the text in the many legends I compared leaves no doubt on that score.

MS. Queen's Coll., Oxford, No. 305. This is described at length in Coxe's *Catalogue*, the contents being given. It is a 15th century ms., late, and is said to contain a French version of the *Legenda Aurea*. I have not seen this ms. myself, but had certain test passages from *Thomas Becket* and *St. Patrick* copied; they agree exactly with the versions given in the other Belet mss., and so I have no doubt this ms. belongs to that form of *légendes*. There are 115 chapters given by Coxe, and several strange names appear. Such are (fol. 50): *La vie de Lentecrist et comme il regnera*; (fol. 76) *De S. Alexandre le pape*; (fol. 80) *De S. Babill (= Basile ?)*; (fol. 89) *De S. Sammian*; (fol. 100) *Du roy Dagobert*; (fol. 106) *De S. Bernoul*; (fol. 118) *De S. Aymon*; (fol. 185) *De Maor des fosses*; (fol. 289) *De S. Perpetua*; (fol. 290) *De S. Domicille*; (fol.

318) *De S. Mariane*; (fol. 335) *De S. Feniel*; (fol. 356) *De S. Balthene*; and, the last in the volume (fol. 376), *De S. Bertille*. But several well known saints (e. g. *Dominick*) are omitted.

MSS. Royal 20 D. VI and Addit. 6524, Brit. Mus., contain shorter collections, based, apparently, on the Belet collection, for they give the Saltrey version of *St. Patrick*, and the latter has (fol. 137 b) the same form of *Thomas Becket* that we found in other Belet MSS. (see Ward, II, 549, etc.). And M. Paul Meyer, in *Notices et Extraits*, t. 34 (1891), p. 183, describes a MS. in the Phillips' collection at Cheltenham (No. 3660) in terms that show it to be also a derivative from Belet. He also mentions other MSS.

THE VIGNAY *Légende dorée*.

B. As many additions were made in the course of time to the original translation, to say nothing of actual changes in the text and the plan of the work, we are apt to lose sight of what was the real work of de Vignay. I have, quite empirically, divided the texts of this version examined into three classes, representing (1) the original translation by de Vignay; (2) this translation plus new legends; (3) the complete revision and re-arrangement of de Vignay's work.

Jean de Vignay was a most industrious translator, whose life we cannot stop to investigate here (see Paris, I, p. 53, fol.; Echard, I, 742; *Hist. Lit. de France*, XVIII, 471-2; Meyer, in *Archives des missions scientifiques*, Paris, 1866, 2^{me} série, III, p. 262, etc.). Two other translations should be noted, however, as well as the *Golden Legend*, viz: *Ludus Scaccorum* = *Le Jeu des Echecs* (> Caxton's *Chess Book*), and *Speculum Historiale* = *Miroir Historial* (also used by Caxton: *Mirroure of the World*?? but see Blades). He states in his prologue to the *Légende dorée* (given by Blades, Aspland, etc.), that he, frère Jacques de Vignay, monk Hospitaller of St. Jacques du Hault-pas, made this translation "à la requeste de très puissaunte et noble dame madame Jehanne de Bourgoigne, par la grace de Dieu royne de France." The work was done, according to Ward (II, p. 131), "soon after 1333; and it was dedicated by (de Vignay) to the Queen of Philippe de Valois, Jeanne de Bourgoigne, who died in 1348." The date given by Blades (II, 183),

and Paris is much too late (*circa* 1380); Ward's is probably correct. The same writers make the less pardonable error of asserting that de Vignay based his work on Belet's. On the contrary, this was really a translation of the *Legenda Aurea*, and the earliest MS. I have seen (Fr. 241, dated 1348) has almost exactly the same order and contents as our present Latin text, with few omissions, and no additions or amplifications. It is not till we get to the 15th century (1402) that we find a list of new legends appended to Voragine's work. The best way to show this seems to be to describe four MSS. of this type.

MS. Royal 19. B. xvii, Brit. Mus. I regret that I cannot linger over this exquisite MS., with its elegant binding and lovely miniature illuminations. It begins with De Vignay's prologue, and a translation of the *Legenda* prologue. There is a table of contents, but it is full of more or less important errors. We begin with *Advent* and go on regularly as in the Latin. The table inserts *St. Eloy* after *Andrew*, but the legend is not in the text, which proceeds regularly. The ritual note in the Latin, p. 39-40, is given as a separate chapter. A similar chapter (*Du temps de reuocacion*) is placed in the table after *Anastasia*, but is not in the text. *St. Macarius* is omitted from the table, but will be found in his proper place in the text (fol. 45). *St. Sebastian* comes before *Fabian*. Between *Julian* and *Septuagesima* a separate chapter is put in, based on Latin, p. 145. *St. Sophia* (Lat. p. 103), and *Si. Timothy* (Lat. p. 222) are omitted. After the *Passion* we get another separate chapter for the "temps de reconciliacion" (Lat. p. 235). *Sts. Fabian* and *Apollonia* are omitted (Lat. pp. 291 and 293). After the *Invention of the Cross* the order is slightly changed; next come: "De la greignour letanie," and "De la meneur," then "De St. Jehan porte latine," and next, *Ascension*, omitting *St. Boniface*. *Gordian* and *Epymachus*, and *Nereus* and *Achilles* are entered in the table as if separate chapters, but are just as in the Latin. Another separate chapter is made from Lat. p. 341. Strange to say, the MS. makes the same error in regard to *St. Marine* that Graesse's table does: she is entered as "sainte Marie uierge," and this error is repeated in MS. Add. 16,907, in MS. Fr. 241, and MS. Egerton 645; but the name is given correctly in the text (fol. 146 b.). All goes regularly again until we find that *Sts. Cornélien*

and *Cyprien* (Lat. p. 595) are omitted from their proper places, as well as *St. Lambert*; but the former will be found between *Chrysostom* and *Eufemia*, the latter between *Eufemia* and *Matthaeus*. "Balam" and "Josafat" are given as if their legends formed separate chapters. The ms. ends with the *Dedication*, which is the last legend in the original *Legenda*, and forms a real translation, not a revision. At the close we find the colophon: "Ci fenist la legende doree en francois que frere iehan de vignay translata de latin en francois." Then, in red: "Cette legende fut escripte Lan mil · ccc · quatre vins et deus."

Addit. ms. 16,907. This is described as a vellum ms., dated 1375. It opens with de Vignay's prologue (which the colophon erroneously describes as "le prologue du translateur appelle frere Jaqs de Jannes de lordre des freres prescheurs,") followed, as usual, by Voragine's, and then the table. It begins: *Advent*, *St. Andrew*, *St. Eloy*, *St. Nicholas*, etc.; but this is an error, as *Eloy* does not occur here in the text, which goes just as in Royal ms. Just as in the latter, *Macarius* is omitted from table, but found in the text. The contents agree exactly. After *St. Lorens* the table puts *St. Tyburcien*, but the legend is not here in the text, which agrees with Royal ms. After the last legend, *Dedication*, comes the colophon: "Cy fenist la vie des sains qui est dicte legende doree, qui fu faite lan de nrese · m · ccc · lxxv."

MS. Egert. 645. This is a later ms., and not nearly so beautiful as most of those we have handled. It is 15 century, on vellum. In contents and order it agrees with the preceding, even to the omission of *Macarius* and the error of *Marie* for *Marine* in the table, and the insertion of *Tyburcien*, etc. *Lambert* is omitted from table, but stands in text, as in other mss. It ends with the *Dedication*, and a mere: "*Explicit la vie des Sains*." The name of the translator, "frere Jehan du Vignay," occurs, as usual, at the end of *Dominick*, fol. 235 (old No. 232).

The Vignay mss. in the Bibliothèque Nationale are very numerous; the present Catalogues name the following as Vignay versions: Nos. 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 414, 415, 416 (all described by Paris, II, 89 ff., and IV, 31-33), 6448 and 23114. Of these ten mss. I have examined only two, and those described as the oldest, Nos. 241 (ancien numéro 6888), and 242 (ancien numéro

6888²). What I shall here say of ms. Fr. 241 must be supplemented by Paris's description, vol. II, p. 254. This ms. has a piece of parchment pasted in the binding which reads: "Richart de monbaston libraire a fait escrire ceste legende des sains en francois lan de grace nostre seigneur mil · ccc · xlviiij." Fol. 1 begins: "Ci commence la legende des sains, translatee en francois par frere iehan de vignay, hospitalier de lordre de haut pas. Et ci cōmence le prologue de celui frere. Me sire saint ieroisme," etc. After this prologue comes: "Cest le prologue sus la legende des sains que frere Jaques de Janes fist de lordre des freres preescheurs." After the prologue comes the table, with this rubric: "Ci cōmencent les chapitres de la legende des sains qui est dite legende doree." In contents and order it agrees with the Royal ms. But *St. Machaire* is not omitted from the Index, and *Sebastian* does not come before *Fabian*. *St. John ante portam* is omitted from the table, but is inserted in the margin, and comes after the *Holy Cross*, being followed by the chapter on the *Litanies*, *Gordian and Epymache*, and *Sts. "Noir" and Achilles*. And this ms., too, repeats the error found in Graesse and in ms. Royal, having "de sainte marie vierge," meant for *St. Marine*.

After *St. Lorens* the Index puts "de saint tyburcien · c · & · xvij," which is not, however, found in the text, as *Hippolitus* follows regularly on *Laurence* (fol. 202 b.).

St. Giles occurs between caps. 126 and 127 of the Latin, but is in its proper place in the text (fol. 235 b.). *Cornelien and Cyprian*, and *Lambert*, as in Royal ms. *St. Francis*, omitted from Index, is inserted in the margin, and *Pelagia* and *Margaret* are counted as one chapter.

Barlaam and Josaphat, together, cap. 178. The *Dedication* ends on fol. 343, and the colophon: "Ci fine la legende des sains qui est dicte doree." On the other side of the folio, apparently in a slightly different hand, we find: "Lespistre Saint Beneoit a Remon Arceuesque de coulounge du martire des machabees"—a theological treatise on the relations of the saints, etc. At the back, pasted in the binding, there is another note referring to Richart de Monbaston, and giving again the date 1348.

In connection with this first group of mss. we may mention one of the early printed copies of the de Vignay translation. This is

in the Bodleian. It is printed by Guillaume Le Roy, Lyons, 1485 (*circa*), without title page, but on the fly-leaf: "La vie des Sainctz en francoys." It has a table of contents at the end. It seems to agree mainly, in order, with Graesse's Latin, lacking some of the peculiar features of the Royal ms. But here, too, we miss *Sts. Sophia, Timothy, Fabian, Apollonia, and Boniface*. The title "*Ste Marine vierge · cxxiiij ·*" is correct, but the *Nat. John Bapt.* precedes *Gervase*, and *Praxede* follows *Magdalen*. *Cornelien* and *Lambert* are misplaced as in the Royal ms. After the *Dedicacione ecclesiae*, on fol. 299, without any note as to their being new legends, we find the following saints:

FOL.	FOL.
299 ... St. Eloy.	304 ... St. Yves.
300 ... La Concepcion.	306 ... St. Loys de france.
302 ... St. Guillaume.	310 ... Ste. Barbe.
302 ... St. Thomas Dacquin.	310 ... St. Claude.

This is an undoubted Vignay version, barring these added legends. But it is curious that his name does not occur in the passage at the end of *St. Dominick*, where it is found in all the mss. I have seen. In other respects it is quite like the mss., apparently nearer to the text of Royal ms., though frequently furnishing corrected readings, as in the case of the etymology of the *St. Stephen*, from which we may quote later.

This printed Vignay represents what we may consider the transition stage from the first group of Vignay mss., in which we get a real translation of the original *Legenda*, to the second group, still a translation, but with a long list of new legends. This group is represented by ms. Fr. 242 (ancien numéro, 6888³). Here the order and contents are the same as in ms. Fr. 241 until we get through the *Dedication* (*Legenda* cap. 182), where we find, in the table: "Cy apres cōmence la table et les Rubriques des festes nouvelles selon lusage de paris, translatees de latin en francois par un maistre en theologie de lordre de nostre dame du carme. Lan mil quatre cēns et deux." Here are the "festes nouvelles":

FOL.	FOL.
287 ... St. Eloy.	291 ... Sts. Nychaise & Euterpe.
288 ... St. Symeon.	292 ... St. Mor Abbe.
290 ... Concepcion.	293 b . . Sts. Fuscien & Victorien.

FOL.		FOL.	
294	... St. Policarpe.	309 b	... St. Maturin de Sens.
295	... Ste. Bandeur.	310	... St. Gordien.
295 b	... Ste. Scolastique.	310 b	... Sts. Tyburcien <i>et als.</i>
296	... Ste. Enfemie.	311	... St. Arnoul.
297	... Sts. Tyburcien & Valerien.	312 b	... St. Donast.
298	... St. Quiriace.	314	... St. Turien de Dole.
299	... St. Soupplice.	314 b	... St. Fiacre.
300 b	... St. Losmer.	316	... St. Justin.
301	... Sts. Medard & Gylard.	316 b	... St. Victor.
301 b	... Sts. Marth & Marcellin.	317	... St. Marciel.
303	... St. Guillaume.	319	... St. Demetrien.
203 b	... St. Eutrope.	320	... St. Rigobert.
305	... St. Leuffroy.	320 b	... St. Landry.
305 b	... St. Amand.	321	... St. Mellonin de Bretagne.
306	... St. Germain de Paris.	321	... Le Saint Sacrement.
307	... Sts. Nazari & Celsi.	323	... St. Thomas Daquin.
308	... Sts. Cancien & Cancienille.	324 b	... Le Bon Dyacre (St. Voul de luques.)
308	... St. Paulin.		
309	... Ste. Perronelle.		

The last of the new legends, telling of the finding of the "Saint Voul de luques," is very long, extending to fol. 336. Then comes the colophon : *Explicit Iste liber, qui scripsit sit crimine liber.* Some of the new legends are really duplicates of those given in the same ms. in the original portion ; but others that seem duplicates differ in some points. We may note that the *Eufemie* is almost identical with the one also found on fol. 212. The *Sts. Tyburcien, Valerien & Maximien* (fol. 297) really embodies the *Cecilia* legend, but gives a fuller account of *Valerian*. *St. Quiriace* repeats most of the *Holy Cross*. *St. Amand* (fol. 305 b.) is not the same as the preceding one, which is from the Lat. p. 175. *Sts. Nazari & Celsi* duplicates the chapter on fol. 252. *St. Perronelle* is not really the same as the one found in the *Legenda*, giving much more about *St. Felicule*. The *St. Tyburcien* on fol. 310 b. is not the same as the preceding. The *St. Donast* is the same person, but a different legend from that on fol. 168.

In connection with this ms. we may mention an early printed copy, which, although I have not seen it, seems from the description to be based on the same translation of the "festes nouvelles." This is the one by "maistre Jean Batallier," printed by Bartholomew Buyer at Lyons in 1476. Notice of it will be found in Bru-

net's *Manuel*, vol. v, 1368, and in other bibliographical authorities ; but a fuller account of Battalier and his revised edition of the *Legenda* is given in Echard, I, 853. This "Frater Joannes Bathalier" died, says Echard, in 1476 ; but we are not concerned with his biography. The colophon of this edition reads : "Cy finit la Legende doree, dite la vie des Saints en Francois, vue & diligemment corrigee auprez du Latin, & second le vrai sens de la lettre, par notable & religieux docteur maistre Jehan Batallier, docteur en la sainte theologie a Paris, de l'ordre des Precheurs de la ville de Lion. par Barthelemi Buyer citoyen dudit Lion, le 18 avril 1476."

The legends added to the original *Legenda* are thus introduced : "Cy apres s'ensuivent les histoires de la vie des SS. nouvelles nagueres translatees de Latin en Francois de la Legende doree l'an de notre Seigneur 1401, & ces histoires ont ete translatees par un maistre en theologie de l'ordre de notre Dame du Carme." And the colophon : "Cy finit, (etc.) . . . pris & colligez de Vincent Historial en divers lieux." It will be seen that the same new translation seems to be meant in the MS. and in this printed copy ; the difference of one year in the dates would not tell against the supposition of identity.

The third stage of the versions going under the name of de Vignay is reached when we find not only the embodiment of many new legends but a complete abandonment of the traditional order of the *Legenda Aurea*. Who is responsible for this sweeping change I have not been able to determine ; the work still goes under the name of Jean de Vignay. There are also two representatives of this class—a MS., and a printed copy which is practically identical with the MS., even reproducing its errors. Though the MS. manifestly antedates the book, I shall describe the latter first, merely because circumstances led me to work upon it before I knew of the MS.

It seems useless transcribing the description from the Brit. Mus. *Catal.*, so I shall merely state that the book is a large folio, printed in double columns of 44 lines, and containing 443 printed leaves. There is no date, or place, or name of printer, but it is assigned by the *Cat.* to Paris (?), 1480 (?). Its present number in the *Cat.* is C. 53. K. 1, the old No. being 1275. h. 3 ; and it is the oldest printed Vignay in the Museum. One of its former owners has

written some comments on the first page, just above the Prologue, saying, among other things, that much in the volume "fait aujourd'hui douter s'il a fait au monde plus de mal que de bien ou plus de bien que de mal." There is no title-page, and the work begins with de Vignay's Prologue: "Monseigneur saint ieromme dist ceste auctorite /" etc., followed by Voragine's Prologue. Indulgence will have to be claimed for another table of contents, which I shall simplify as far as possible.

FOL.

- 1 ... De lavēt nr̄e seigneur ihū crist.
- 5 ... De la natiuite " " " "
- 6 ... De la circuncision " " " "
- 10 ... Des trois rois.
- 12 ... De la septuagesime.
- 13 ... De la sexagesime.
- 14 ... De la quinquagesime.
- 14 ... De la quarantaine.
- 15 ... Des ieunes des iiiij temps.
- 16 ... De la passion nostre seigneur,
etc.
- 21 ... De la resurreccion nostre seigneur,
etc.
- 26 ... Des letanies maieurs et mineurs.
- 27 ... De l'ascension nr̄e seigneur.
- 31 ... Du benoit saint esperit.
- 37 ... De la premiere partie de lexi-
position de la messe.
- 39 ... De la seconde partie de la messe.
- 43 ... De la tierce partie " " "
- 45 ... De la quarte " " " "
- 46 ... Des X cōmādēms de nr̄e loy.
- 47 ... Des XII articles de nr̄e foy.
- 50 ... De saint andrieu.
- 53 ... De saint nicolas euesque.
- 56 ... De la cōception nr̄e dame.
- 58 ... Des sains gentien, fulcien et
victorice.
- 59 ... De sainte luce vierge.
- 60 ... De saint nicaise.
- 61 ... De saint thomas apostre.
- 63 ... De sainte anastaise.
- 64 ... De sainte eugene.
- 64 ... De saint estienne martir.
- 66 ... De saint iehan apostre.

FOL.

- 69 ... Des innocens.
- 70 ... De saint thomas de cantourbie.
- 72 ... De saint siluestre.
- 73 ... De saint pol premier hermite.
- 75 ... De saint remy de rains.
- 75 ... De saint hilaire.
- 76 ... De saint fremin.
- 77 ... De saint macaire.
- 77 ... De saint felix en pinces.
- 78 ... De saint valerien.
- 79 ... De saint marcel (= *Leg. cap.*
20). *We now go on as in*
Leg. caps. 20-31, Sebastian,
omitted from table, is in the text.
After cap. 30:
- 94 ... De saint inlien, comes
- 96 ... De saint ignace evesque, and
then again like Lat. caps. 36-
41, Vedast & Amand being
transposed, then:
- 103 ... De saint iulien martir.
- 104 ... De saint valentin martir, and
again regularly through Lon-
ginus, next to this:
- 111 ... De saint benoit.
- 112 ... De saint patrice.
- 114 ... De saint benoit abbe.
- 117 ... De lannūciatōn nr̄e dame.
- 120 ... De sainte marie degipte, *after*
this regularly, Leg. caps. 56-
70, omitting Antiochena, Fa-
bian, and Apollonia; in place
of cap. 70 we get:
- 136 ... Des sains nerin & achilles.
- 137 ... De saint pancrace.

POL.

- 138 ... De saint second.
- 138 ... De saint urbain.
- 139 ... De saint pierre lexiciste.
- 139 ... Des sains prime & felicien.
- 140 ... De saint barnabe apostre.
- 142 ... De saint sauue.
- 144 ... De saint valeri.
- 146 ... De saint tillon.
- 148 ... De sainte austerberte.
- 151 ... De saint vy & st. modest.
- 152 ... De saint lieuin arceuesque.
- 155 ... De saint piat.
- 156 ... De saint gillain.
- 157 ... De saint baunon.
- 160 ... De sainte marthe.
- 162 ... De sainte clare.
- 169 ... De saint apolinaire.
- 172 ... De sainte cristine.
- 175 ... De saint victorin.
- 176 ... Des sts. geruais & prothais.
- 177 ... De la natiuite st. jean baptiste.
- 180 ... De saint iehan & st. pol martirs.
- 181 ... De saint pierre apostre.
- 185 ... De saint pol apostre.
- 188 ... Des sept freres.
- 188 ... De sainte marguerite.
- 188 ... De sainte praeste.
- 188 ... De sainte marie magdalaine.
- 192 ... De saint iacques apostre.
- 196 ... De saint cristofle.
- 198 ... Des sept dormans.
- 200 ... De saint felix.
- 200 ... Des sts. simplicien, faustin,
etc.
- 200 ... Des sts. abdon et senen.
- 200 ... De la transfiguration nre seignr.
- 201 ... De saint geri.
- 204 ... De sainte waudrud.
- 207 ... De sainte germain.
- 208 ... De saint eusebe.
- 209 ... Des sept machabees.
- 210 ... De saint pierre aux liens.
- 212 ... De saint estienne pape.
- 212 ... De linuencion st. estienne (pro-
tomartyr).

POL.

- 214 ... De saint dominique. *Continues
regular, caps. 112-131; after
which comes, omitting here
caps. 132, 133 —*
- 264 ... De saint adrien.
- 266 ... De saint gorgon.
- 266 ... De saint prothe.
- 267 ... Exaltacion de la ste. croix.
- 270 ... De saint iean grisostome.
- 273 ... De saint cornelien.
- 274 ... De sainte eufeme.
- 275 ... De saint lambert.
- 275 ... De saint mathieu apostre.
*Again regular, caps. 141-169
of Leg.; after cap. 168 comes*
- 332 ... De st. clement, and again regu-
larly as far as end of Leg.
*proper, cap. 182, except that
between 174 & 175 comes*
- 342 ... De saint lyon pape. *After the
Dedication come*
- 365 ... De saint eloy.
- 366 ... De saint simeon.
- 368 ... De saint mor.
- 369 ... De saint policarpe.
- 370 ... De ste. baudour.
- 371 ... De ste. scolastique.
- 371 ... De ste. cecille.
- 372 ... De saint quiriache.
- 373 ... De saint soulplis.
- 375 ... De saint losmer (*inserted by pen
in table*).
- 376 ... De saint medart.
- 376 ... De saint guillame.
- 377 ... De saint eutrope.
- 378 ... De saint lieuffroy.
- 379 ... De saint karillephus & st. advit.
- 379 ... De saint nazareus.
- 381 ... Des sts. canci, cancion & canci-
amille.
- 381 ... De st. paulin.
- 382 ... De sainte peronelle.
- 382 ... De saint maturin.
- 383 ... De saint gordian.
- 383 ... De saint gaius.

FOL.

384 ... De saint arnoul.
 385 ... De saint donat (*inserted by pen,
 duplicate, f. 221 b.*).
 387 ... De saint turien.
 388 ... De saint fiacre.
 390 ... De saint justin.
 390 ... De saint victor.
 391 ... De saint marcial.
 393 ... De saint demetrien.
 394 ... De saint rigobert.
 395 ... De saint landry.
 395 ... De saint mellonin.
 396 ... Du saint sacrement.

FOL.

398 ... De st. thomas daquino.
 400 ... Du bon diacre . . . st. vout
 de luques.
 412 ... De saint yues.
 415 ... De saint morant.
 415 ... De saint loys roi de frâce.
 420 ... De saint loys de marseilles.
 422 ... De sainte geneuieue.
 432 ... De sainte barbe.
 434 ... De saint alexis.
 436 ... De sainte audegonde.
 437 ... De sainte aubin.

I have given the folio numbering according to the table; it here differs slightly from the actual numbering of the folios, but not enough to cause confusion; for example, the folios on which *St. Aubin* occurs are the last in the book, and are numbered 439 and 440. It will be seen that there are comparatively few legends here which are not in one or the other of the previous French versions. But the order of the legends, especially at the beginning, is very different. Before commenting on some of the peculiarities, let us say a few words about the ms. on which this printed copy is undoubtedly based.

Stowe ms. 50-51, is the one referred to. This is fully described in the *Catalogue*: "La Légende Dorée: the *French* version of the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine, made by Jean de Vignay, *circ.* 1340, including the additional lives given by De Vignay for which there is no original in Jacobus. There are in all 236 narratives, including those which refer to Festivals, as well as the Lives of the Saints. Begins, without title, with the rubric: 'Cy comence le prologue de l'acteur de ce liure,' etc., which introduces the translator's preface, beg. 'Monseigneur saint iherome.' The author's preface follows, beg. 'Le temps de ceste presente vie,' f. 1 b. The table of contents begins on f. 2, and the text of the work on f. 4. In two volumes. The last Life is that of St. Aubin, ending with the words 'du benoit saint pere le filz et le saint esperit. Amen.' This ms., or one very closely resembling it, appears to be the original from which the copy 1275 h. 3 in the British Museum [undated, described in the *Catalogue* as 1480?] was printed. They

agree in omitting the names of SS. Sebastian, Losmer, and Donat from the table of contents, though their Lives are given in the text. After the Life of Ste. Waudrut, with which the first volume of the ms. ends, a blank space of nearly a leaf is left in the printed copy, so as to begin the next Life at the beginning of a new leaf. Further, the water-mark of the paper of the ms. [a shield bearing three fleurs-de-lis, with a cross pendant below] is identical with that of the first 77 folios of the printed copy. Paper, except vol. i, ff. 1 and 10, which are vellum. Two vols., ff. 242 and 282. Late xvth cent. The original foliation is continuous through the two vols., from 1 to v°xxx; but in, (*etc.*) . . . On the last page of vol. ii is the name of Jacques Losien as owner, in a 16th cent. hand. Folio."

This description is so full that it needs no additions. The ms. does seem to agree, even in spelling, with the printed copy, though some of its errors are not in the ms. One error that the two also have in common is here overlooked. Just after *St. Pierre aux liens* we find in the text: *De saint estienne pape*, and *De linuencion saint Estienne*. Both of these are omitted from the table of the ms. and of the printed version; cf. the latter, pp. 212 b.-214 b. A number of minor errors in the ms. are reproduced in the printed Vignay, which also adds one or two on its own account. More may be noticed later, but we must mention that in the etymology of *St. Stephen* the error *saine venue* for *fame veuve* (printed V. fol. 64 b) is found also in the ms. (fol. 25, ms. 51); while in the *Seven Sleepers* the printed V. (fol. 199) has left a blank space for a date, which some one has since wrongly inserted, and the ms. (fol. 234) has no error or omission here.

These two texts agree with the earlier Vignay's and Latin mss. in omitting *St. Sophia*; *St. Timothy* (Lat. p. 222); *St. Fabian* (p. 291); *St. Apolonia*; and *St. Boniface*; to which we may add the omission here of *De virgine quadam Antiochena*. The first chapter on *St. Benoit*, though it has the etymology for his name carelessly prefixed to it (Stowe ms. fol. 136 b.; printed V. fol. 111 b.), does not deal with St. Benedict at all, but with *St. Maure*; the second chapter is the real life of Benedict: "Saint benoit fut enuoie a rome pour estudie" (*sic*; ms. fol. 139 b.; printed, fol. 114).

At the end of *St. Dominique* we generally find the translator

named (printed V. fol. 221): "Car ie frere iehan de vignay, translateur de ce liure, ne veult cy plus mettre ceste vision, car elle est deuant en ce meisme chappitre"—cf. Royal ms. fol. 202; Eg. 645, fol. 235; Fr. 241, fol. 195, etc. The Oxford printed Vignay (see above) is the only copy of this version I have seen which does not mention de Vignay in this place; it ends exactly as the Latin does (p. 483).

Even with the great changes in arrangement, and the numerous additions to the original *Legenda*, this latest form of the de Vignay *Légende dorée* is still essentially a translation of the *Legenda Aurea*. Where the so-called translation by Belet makes radical changes from the Latin, the early Vignay's are so little different from the Latin that we need only suppose, here and there, a text different from that given by Graesse to reconcile all divergences. And even in the latest forms, after de Vignay's work had undergone thorough revision by the "docteur de Notre Dame du Carme," by Jean Battallier, or by the unidentified reviser whose work is represented in Stowe ms. 50-51 and its printed replica, we still find the main body of the work a fairly faithful translation of Voragine. One salient point of difference between Belet's work and de Vignay's, and one not without its significance in view of the suggestion that the "légende des sains dorée" was not translated from the *Legenda Aurea*, is the treatment of the "etymologies." These are so important in connection with our study of Caxton's sources that I shall postpone full discussion of them. But here we must remark that all the Vignay's give translations of Voragine's etymologies; nay, more, even the earliest give some etymologies for which no Latin original is found in Graesse's text, e. g. *St. Felix*, Lat. p. 575, cf. Addit. ms. fol. 160, Roy. ms. fol. 185; and *Marina*, Lat. p. 353, cf. Ad. fol. 127, Roy. fol. 146 b., etc. On the other hand, not one is given in the Belet mss., and the only thing which looks in the least like an "etymology," so far as I could discover, is in the following bit from *St. Ernoul*, not one of the original *Legenda*: "Bonne reson i ot pour quoi li peres (of *St. Arnulphus*) fu apelez rogaciens. Car rogaciens est dit de rogo, rogas, et dist autant rogaciens comme priere (or priez). . . . La mere ot non eufroise a bon, quod est, bonum est sapiencia. Car sanz doute ele fu plainne de sapience et de bonte" (ms. Fr. 183, fol. 191; ms. Fr. 185, fol.

178 b.). This is, of course, not derived from Voragine, but is at least in the same vein as his etymologies. Why should the translator—call him Belet, if you will—whose work is so much fuller in detail than Voragine's, and who has here shown that he could make as little sense as the next man out of an absurd bit of etymology, why did he refrain from translating those etymological paragraphs which are one of the distinctive features of Voragine's work?

If our chief interest in the French versions of the *Legenda Aurea* does lie in those we have discussed at what may seem unpardonable length, we should not omit all mention of other attempts in this line. Besides the Belet and Vignay mss. in the Bibliothèque Nationale we have others whose precise character is not determined by the Catalogues. There is a French prose *Légende dorée* in No. 1054 (paper, 15th Cent., old No. 7339²), and Nos. 1534 (vellum, 14th Cent., old No. 7583²) and 1535 (paper, 15th Cent., old No. 7583^{2,3}). Finally, there seems to be a later version still in ms. 15475, of the 16th–17th Century.

We shall first mention ms. Fr. 1054, which has some interesting personal notes, and is fuller than any of the others examined. It is manifestly a late ms. The Vignay prologue is not found. The ms. begins with a translation of Jacobus's Prologue, and then goes on with *Advent* (a distinct translation, different, however, from the Belet and Vignay mss.), *Andrew, Nicholas, Lucia*, etc., the order being here quite similar to the present *Legenda*. But *St. Lucia* is incomplete, and is followed by (fol. 32) *Lespurgatore S. Patrisse*, which is not the *Legenda* version; it is written in a different hand, and may possibly be an insertion. There are several similar additions, such as a "Proeme sur le Pater noster," and a chapter on "Confession." After the latter we go on with *St. Stephen, St. John, the Innocents*, etc. All between *Epiphany* and *Fabian* is omitted. But it will be sufficient to state that we have here a pretty full translation, comparatively few legends being omitted; and, what is more interesting still, in most cases the etymologies are given. I shall give a sample later. This is, despite the etymologies, not a de Vignay version, but a really independent translation. On fol. 400 b, we find, at the end of *St. Felix*: "Escript et complete el monastere de saint nicholas du (— — *illegible*) les

tournaj En lan de grace mil · iiiij · & · xlj." Just below this, in very large letters, occurs: "Translate par ung poure pecheur & petit clerc / du quel dieu par les merites des sains nōmes en cheste (*sic*) legende dor / et de tous aultres, voeulle conoistre le nom et le resoir de la douche vois de vie. *venes* benois *el* regne adoons prepare de Dieu. Amen. Combien que la legende Dor ait este translatee par plusieurs notables clers, desquels me soufie considerer la science et eloquence, che non obstant, par comand de obedience, car ie nai point volu par arrogance deffendre mon ignorance, ai comprins cheste translation. (which he undertook to avoid idleness and its consequences, and) . . . a le frequente supplicacion de aucuns bons freres, qui peust estre ne ont point grande cōnoissance de la langue latine, et par carite, qui che volume et aultre me a fait entreprendre," etc. He ends with the usual sort of prayer to all the saints, to the reader, and to the Superior of his monastery. For the readings in this note I am not responsible, having been compelled, through lack of time, to rely absolutely on a transcription by a professional copyist; but the errors will, I hope, be overlooked.

MS. Fr. 1534 is really an abridged translation of the *Legenda*. Not only are many legends omitted, but nearly all seem to be shortened. The ms. begins with the *Passion*, in verse; then, on folio 19 we find: "Cy commence la legende doree. St. Andrieu, St. Nicholas" (fol. 21), etc., till we get to *Thomas Becket*, which is omitted. In all I count 76 legends, ending, on fol. 85 b., with *de Dedicatione*, which is translated literally, with the omission of some paragraphs. Such well known legends as *St. Ursula*, *St. Dominick*, and *St. Pelagius* are among the many omitted. The nature of the work may be judged from this bit from *St. Patrick*, fol. 35 b.:

"Saint Patrice fu ung saint evesque · mout prudōme · il requist a nre Sr. qui monstrast signe par quoy peust ses pechies purgier. De la vollente de dieu il lui fu monstre ung puis sy gūt sy tresparfont. Et ly fu reuelle ung lieu depurgatoire. Et qui la vouldra descendre il ne soufferra ia aultre penitance ne aultre penitance (*sic*) ne aultre purgatoire · & mout y descendirent qui puis ne reapparurent. Apres la mort saint patrice ung sien disciple (!) qui auoit nom nicolle sy vould descendre en celui purgatoire pour ses pechies purgier," etc.

MS. Français 1535, too, is a *Légende dorée*, and the legends, though less in number, are more fully rendered than in the preceding MS.; but it is a late MS., and we have not time to tarry over it, or over the still later MS. 15,475, which is assigned to the sixteenth, or even to the seventeenth century. These later MSS. have been mentioned, indeed, more to show the continued popularity of the *Legenda* than as a pretense to anything like thorough study of them or of the many other late legendaries which a little care might discover.

CHAPTER III. ENGLISH PROSE VERSIONS.

We are restricted to prose in the present discussion of the *Golden Legend*, for we cannot discuss here the difficult problem of the relations between the *Legenda Aurea* and the many verse Legendaries that appeared about the same time. Of one point alone do I feel sure, and that is that the metrical versions of the *Barlam* found in the Vernon MS., in Bodl. 779, and in Harl. 4196, tell the *Legenda Aurea* form of the story, and therefore probably derived it from the *Legenda Aurea*. But on the general relationship of the metrical Lives of Saints to the *Golden Legend* I shall merely cite Horstmann and Ten Brink. The former says, in his *Old Eng. Legendary* (E. E. T. S., No. 87), based on MS. Laud. 108: "The collection is a *Liber Festivalis*. . . . It was made shortly before, or simultaneously with, the *Legenda Aurea* by Jacobus a Voragine, the famous store-book of mediaeval legends. Neither of these collections is the source of the other; both were formed independently of one another, and prove that the same task, which was indeed required by that time, was attempted by different writers at different places." Ten Brink, writing about the legends compiled by the monks of Gloucester, says also (p. 268-9): "At the time when their activity was at its height, the Italian Jacobus a Voragine, bishop of Genoa, wrote a similar legend-cycle in Latin prose, with the title *Legenda Aurea*. The exact correspondence between this work and that of some of the English legends, as shown, for instance, in the lives of Christopher and Margaret, has given rise to the theory that the *Golden Legend* was the source of many of the English lives of saints. It is to be remembered, however, that

Jacobus a Voragine often, without scruple, copied older texts, so that this correspondence may arise from a use of the same authorities."

A. There are five fairly complete mss. of the 15th century translation of the *Golden Legend*, and a fragment consisting of half a leaf, which seems to be one of the missing portions of one of the complete mss. We shall describe each ms. in detail, attempting to indicate their inter-relations, but reserving the last word on this question, as well as on the question of their being translated directly from the Latin or through the French, until we reach the study of the texts. The following table of contents attempts to show only the actual condition of the most complete ms., Harleian 4775, Brit. Mus. Special comment will show the lacunae in other mss., as well as some additions. The mss. will be referred to by abridged titles: Harl. 4775 = H; Harl. 630 = h; Egerton 876 = E; Additional 11,565 = A; Lansdowne 350 = L (all in Brit. Mus.); Douce 372 (Bodleian) = D.

CAP.

- 1 ... Seynte Andrewe.
- 2 ... " Nicholas.
- 3 ... " Luce virginne.
- 4 ... " Thomas Apostulle.
- 5 ... The Natiuite of oure lorde.
- 6 ... S. Anastace.
- 7 ... S. Stephene.
- 8 ... S. John Euangelist (*end lost*).
- 9 ... The Innocentis. } *All these*
- 10 ... S. Thomas of Caunterbury. } *lost in the*
- 11 ... S. Siluester. } *text, but*
- 12 ... The Circumcisioun of our lorde. } *names*
- 13 ... The Twelff daie (*beginning lost*). } *still in*
- 14 ... S. Poule the heremyte.
- 15 ... S. Remygie Confessour.
- 16 ... S. Hillarij Bisshopp.
- 17 ... S. Macarij.
- 18 ... S. Felix.
- 19 ... S. Marcelle.
- 20 ... S. Antony.
- 21 ... S. Fabian.
- 22 ... S. Sebastian.

CAP.

- 23 ... S. Anneys.
- 24 ... S. Vincent.
- 25 ... S. Basile Bisshopp.
- 26 ... S. John the Aumenere.
- 27 ... Conuersion of Poule.
- 28 ... S. Pauline.
- 29 ... S. Julian Bisshop.
- 30 ... Septuagesme.
- 31 ... Sexagesme.
- 32 ... Quinquagesme.
- 33 ... The Lente.
- 34 ... The Quater Temps.
- 35 ... S. Jgnacien.
- 36 ... The Purificacioun.
- 37 ... S. Blase Bisshopp.
- 38 ... S. Agas virgine.
- 39 ... S. Vedaste Bisshope.
- 40 ... S. Amande.
- 41 ... S. Valentyne.
- 42 ... S. Julian Virgine.
- 43 ... Cathedra sancti Petri.
- 44 ... S. Mathewe Apostulle.
- 45 ... S. Gregorij.
- 46 ... S. Longens.

GAP.

- 47 ... S. Benette.
- 48 ... S. Patrik.
- 49 ... The Annunciacioun of oure
ladie.
- 50 ... The Passioun of oure lorde.
- 51 ... S. Seconde.
- 52 ... S. Marie Egipcian.
- 53 ... S. Ambrose.
- 54 ... S. George.
- 55 ... S. Mark.
- 56 ... S. Marcelline.
- 57 ... S. Vitale knjght.
- 58 ... S. Petre of Melane.
- 59 ... St. Philipp Appostulle.
- 60 ... St. Jacob Appostulle.
- 61 ... The fyndinge of the holie cros.
- 62 ... S. John appostull.
- 63 ... The Ordenaunce of the letanies.
- 64 ... The Ascencioun of oure lorde.
- 65 ... The Sendinge of the holie
gooste.
- 66 ... S. Jerome Doctour.
- 67 ... S. Gordianne viker to Julian.
- 68 ... S. Nereyn and Achilley.
- 69 ... S. Pancras.
- 70 ... S. Urban Pope.
- 71 ... S. Pernelle.
- 72 ... S. Petre the Dekenne.
- 73 ... S. Prime and Felicianne.
- 74 ... S. Barnabe and Levite.
- 75 ... S. Vitte Martir.
- 76 ... S. Quirine and Julite.
- 77 ... S. Marin virgine.
- 78 ... S. Geruase and Prothase.
- 79 ... S. Albon and Amphiballe.
- 80 ... The Natiuite of S. John the
Baptist.
- 81 ... S. John and Poule Prouestis of
Rome.
- 82 ... S. Leonne Pope.
- 83 ... S. Petre Apost.
- 84 ... The Cômemoracion of S. Poule.
- 85 ... The lijfe of VII bretheren.
- 86 ... S. Theodore Martir.
- 87 ... S. Margarete virgine.
- 88 ... S. Calixte (*really Alexis*).

GAP.

- 89 ... S. Praxeda.
- 90 ... S. Marie Mawdaleyn.
- 91 ... S. Appollinare.
- 92 ... S. Cristine.
- 93 ... S. James Apost.
- 94 ... S. Cristofore.
- 95 ... S. VII sleepers.
- 96 ... S. Nazarien.
- 97 ... S. Felix.
- 98 ... S. Sympliden.
- 99 ... S. Martha.
- 100 ... S. Abdonne and Sennes.
- 101 ... S. Gernayn.
- 102 ... S. Eusebie.
- 103 ... S. Machabeus.
- 104 ... Ad vincula s. Petri.
- 105 ... The Fyndinge of a. Stephen
(*end lost*).
- 106 ... S. Domynyke.
- 107 ... S. Sixte Pope.
- 108 ... S. Donate.
- 109 ... S. Ciriak.
- 110 ... S. Laurence (*beginning lost*).
- 111 ... S. Jpolite.
- 112 ... The Assumpcioun of oure lady
(*1 fol. lost*).
- 113 ... S. Bernarde.
- 114 ... S. Tymothei.
- 115 ... S. Symphorian.
- 116 ... S. Bartillemewe.
- 117 ... S. Augustine.
- 118 ... St. Felixe.
- 119 ... Sta. Savineon and Savyn.
- 120 ... S. Lowe.
- 121 ... S. Mamertyn.
- 122 ... S. Gile.
- 123 ... The Natiuite of oure ladie.
- 124 ... S. Cecile virgine.
- 125 ... S. Adrian.
- 126 ... S. Gorgonien.
- 127 ... S. Prothe and Jacincti.
- 128 ... The Exaltacioun of the cros.
- 129 ... S. Grisostome.
- 130 ... S. Cornelian pope.
- 131 ... S. Eufemye.
- 132 ... S. Lambert.

*All missing
in the text;
names still
in table.*

CAP.

- 133 ... S. Mathie Euangelist.
 134 ... S. Moris Martir.
 135 ... S. Justine and Cipriane.
 136 ... S. Cosme and Damian.
 137 ... S. Fursine Bissh.
 138 ... S. Mighelle the Archaungele.
 139 ... S. Jerome.
 140 ... S. Remigie.
 141 ... S. Leodegarie.
 142 ... S. Franceis.
 143 ... S. Pellagien.
 144 ... S. Mergarete callid Pellagien.
 145 ... S. Thais.
 146 ... S. Denis.
 147 ... S. Calixte.
 148 ... S. Leonarde.
 149 ... S. Luke.
 150 ... S. Crissaunte.
 151 ... The XI Mil. Virgines.
 152 ... S. Symon and Jude.
 153 ... S. Quintine.
 154 ... S. Eustace.
 155 ... The Feeste of alle hallowes.
 156 ... The Commemoracioun of
 Soules.

CAP.

- 157 ... The IIII corouned Martires.
 158 ... S. Theodore.
 159 ... S. Martine.
 160 ... S. Brice.
 161 ... S. Elizabeth.
 162 ... S. Cecile.
 163 ... S. Clement.
 164 ... S. Grisogone.
 165 ... S. Katerine.
 166 ... S. Saturnine.
 167 ... S. James callid Justi.
 168 ... S. Pastor Abbot.
 169 ... S. John Abbot.
 170 ... S. Moyse.
 171 ... S. Arsenye the abbot.
 172 ... S. Agathen.
 173 ... S. Barlaham.
 174 ... S. Pelagien (*at least 1 fol. lost.*)
 175 ... The dedicacioun of the chirche.
 176 ... The aduente.
 177 ... The Concepsioun of oure ladie.
 178 ... The life of Adam and of
 Eve.
 179 ... The V wylis of Pharao.

For a description of some of the technical details of H., h., E., and D., see Horstmann, *Program des Gymnas. zu Sagan*, 1877, and *Altenglische Legenden, Neue Folge*, Heilbronn, 1881, p. cxxx f. But some of Dr. Horstmann's statements are so mistaken that I shall give in full my own notes on the MSS., which will serve to supplement or correct his work.

MS. Harl. 4775 is quite a handsome MS.; though without miniatures it has illuminated capitals in red, gold, and gilt, and on many folios a delicate vine-like tracery in green. In the table of contents which begins the MS. the initial letters are alternately red and blue; e. g. in *Seynte Andrewe*, the S is red, in *Seynte Nicolas* the S is blue. The index, like the text, is in double columns, opposite the name of each saint or feast being placed the number of the chapter, thus: *Seynte Andrewe . . . Capitulo 1^o*. I may note here that the numbering in the table above is based on revision, and does not always agree with the actual numbering in index or

text. At the head of the first chapter in the text stands: "This bok is compiled of the lyues of seyntes. Callid in latyn *Legenda Aurea*. first begynnyth the lyff of saynt Andrewe." At the top of each folio in the text the rubricator has put the title of the chapter given below.

Dr. Horstmann's statement that H. is "ganz ohne Lücken" (*Progr.* p. 5) will seem strange in view of the following facts. The folio numbered 16 ends in the middle of *St. John the Evangelist*, with these words (cf. Lat. p. 58, l. 14): "The thrid is to a creatur; for the sonne and the Mone and the sterres, the reyne — (*catchwords*) — and the erthe." But the next fol., 17, begins: "Heroude when they turned not ageyne to hym —" (Lat. p. 78) in the *Epiphany*, which ends on fol. 18, followed at once by *Saynt Poule the heremyte*. Here is a lacuna; we lose a large part of *St. John*, a portion of the *Epiphany* (*Twelff daie*), and all of the intervening legends, viz: *The Innocentis*, *St. Thomas of Cauntbury*, *St. Siluester*, and *The Circumsicioun of our lorde*. Another large gap in the ms. begins in the legend of the *Inuencion of the bodi of Seinte Stephne*, on fol. 136, b. The folio ends with these words: "But he kepte him to whom thei had kepte here feithe with oute eny varynge and" — (Lat. 462, l. 10). The next folio carries us into the legend of *St. Laurence*, with these words: "disese in her heed · and than seinte Laurence leide hys honde," etc. (Lat. p. 490, l. 23). This is near the beginning. We have lost here nearly all of the *Inuencion of Stephen*, all of *Sts. Domyneke*, *Sixte Pope*, *Donate*, and *Ciriak*, and the first portion of *St. Laurence*. The next legend after *St. Laurence* is *St. Ipolite*, which is complete. But the *Assumption of oure blessed virgyn Seinte Marie* has a folio (not more, I think) lacking; the lacuna occurs between ff. 146 and 147. The former ends: (Lat. 523, l. 33) "that yf thou lyue hit is (*catchwords*) to us —." Folio 147 begins: "he is · and so precious a tresour is more worthi," etc. (Lat. p. 526, l. 23). After this there are no further gaps in the ms. that I have discovered until we get to the life of *Pope Pelagien*—the legend from which the *Legenda* took its sub-title of *Historia Lombardica*. Here, on fol. 246 b, a *Narracio* about Bede is broken off with these words: "And the vers wolde in noo wise accorde, and so" . . . (Lat. p. 833). The next folio begins: "passid neuer thries drinkinge," etc. (p. 837, l. 8), which is a

portion of an anecdote about Charlemagne, showing a loss of at least one folio. Only one leaf of the *Fyve wyllis of Kinge Pharaao*, "the whiche he usid agenst the childrenne of Israelle to kepe hem in his londe," is left; it breaks off with these words: "For it is wreten in holie writte that it is an holie sacrifice to yeue entente to the commaundementis of god and to goo" This is the last folio of the text, making 264 in all, as they are now numbered. After this comes a blank folio, with lines drawn on it as if for the continuation of the ms.; it contains some quite irrelevant scribbling and rude drawings, in a variety of modern hands.

Harl. 630 is a smaller folio than any of the other mss., and less handsome; but the writing is generally quite clear. Dr. Horstmann is in error when he says (*Progr.*) that this ms. breaks off with *St. Catherine*; but he corrects this later (*Alteny. Leg.*); the last legend, on fol. CCCLXXI (fol. 365 of present numbering), is "þe life of seint Saturnyne," which begins on fol. 364. The colophon of the volume follows at the end of this legend, and reads (in red ink): "Here endeth the Boke of the life of Seintes called in latyn legenda aurea. compiled and drawen into engliish bi worthi clerkes and doctours of Diuinite suengly afre þe tenur of þe latin." At the end of the legends follow two tables of contents, on 2 leaves and a half (the back of the fol. containing end of *Saturnyne* and colophon). The first of these is arranged according to chapters, of which there are 126; but *St. Leonarde* is omitted, through a mere scribe's oversight, as there is a vacant space where his name should come in; and *St. Pelagien* (before *Margaret called Pellagien*) is inserted; as far as it goes, the table agrees in content and order with H. 4775 (there are many curious spellings and entries, such as: "The life of latenyes" = the litany). The second table is much less carefully done. It is intended as an index by folios, and furnishes one correction to the other table, viz: *St. Allexus*, who is entered as *St. Calyxt* in the previous table. It extends only to *St. Elizabeth of Hungary*, the last leaf being lost.

The front page of this ms., containing the beginning of *St. Andrew*, has been roughly cut out, leaving a fragment about an inch wide, on which may be seen near the top traces of the flourishes made for the first capital. Only one leaf of *St. Andrew* is left (fol. ij). The legend begins: "yong men sailing in the see

for to receiue of him doctrine of cristen feith," etc. (*Leg. Aur.*, p. 15, 7); and breaks off: "And whan he was ledde to the crosse warde grete concours"—(*Leg. Aur.*, p. 17). Then five folios are missing, so that on fol. vij, which is the next as the ms. now stands, we find these words: "that art be night entered into my place," etc. (*Leg.*, p. 26)—in the middle of the life of *St. Nicholas*. There are three leaves missing (lxxxij–lxxxvj) in the life of *St. Gregory*. The interruption is after these words on fol. lxxxij, b. (cf. *Leg.*, p. 192, 5): "and of my name siker dere brother thu hast"—. The story is resumed: "the blode of my sone that is slayne" (cf. *Leg.*, p. 196, 10). In the life of *Sts. Alban and Amphiballe* there is an inserted leaf, it is not numbered (except by the mod. Arabic numerals), and comes in between folios clxix and clxx. At the bottom of fol. clxix, b, occurs the following note, in the same hand as most of the corrections: "next after this shuld folwe (*word or words erased, apparently with a knife*) þat is the begynnnyng of ye next lefe shoulde (? *illegible*) come at this sign *"—which is found on fol. CLXX. The inserted leaf is of slightly different size and quality of parchment, and is in a different hand, which, however, very closely resembles that in the rest of the ms. The differences lie in the form of the *r*, and of the paragraph signs, the latter being, moreover, all in red, instead of alternately red and blue as usual in the rest of the ms. The inserted leaf begins: "at oo stroke, þe body falling down to þe groude," etc. (H., fol. 101, b.). It ends: "Therefore we that *haue used*" (*sic*), and a footnote states: "se more atte this same marke *"—which is immediately opposite, on fol. CLXX. There is a most curious accidental omission here of two full pages (one fol.) of matter, as is indicated by the lack of coherence in the narrative of the execution of *St. Alban*: "Oon was redy anone and toke a swerde and with gret cruelte he smote so þe holi martir in þe nek þat his hede was partid fro þe body *haue used an unprofitable religion*" (I underscore), really fitting on to the above. It will be seen that the remarkable lacuna, which might have been due to a careless copyist's turning over two leaves at once, is bridged over by the inserted folio. After a comparison with H. 4775, I must admit that the differences are sufficient to make one doubt if the folio was copied thence. The peculiarities of spelling found elsewhere in the ms. are adhered to, there are

changes of construction and verbal changes from H. 4775, and the relations between the two seem much the same here as elsewhere.

There are no further lacunae of importance. The short legend of *St. Gorgonien* is omitted: on fol. cclxxvii, b., where it should follow the life of *St. Adrian*, we find the beginning of the life of *Prothe & Jacincti*. The legend of *St. Pellagien* is apparently omitted; it should come just before *St. Margarete*; but the colophon of the legend ending here reads (fol. ccxix, b.): "here endethe the liffe of seint ffraunceis"; it is another scribal error, due to misplacing the colophon; for this is really the end of the legend of *St. Pellagien*, which begins near the end of the last folio, introduced by a simple heading: "pelagen," in black ink, by the careful reviser of this ms. In the same way, *Sts. Calixt* and *Leonarde* are apt to be overlooked, as their legends are not separated from each other or from that of *St. Denys*, in which they are embodied; the colophon reads (fol. ccc. xvij.): "here endethe the liffe of Seint Denys"—and *Denys* is erased, *leonard* being written over it in black ink. *St. Calixt* will be found on fol. cccxiiij, and *St. Leonarde* next. A similar correction of the title occurs in this ms. in the case of *St. Alexis*, on fol. c. xcvi; where it is headed "*Calyxt*," but the *C* has been erased, and *Alexius* written in the margin.

In a good many places this ms. (h.) has been corrected; some instances have been given, and others will find their proper place when we come to the texts. But here I may state that I could not find any instance in which the corrections pointed unmistakably to any of the other mss., and hence it seems likely that they come from some other unknown ms., possibly the one of which h. is a copy.

Douce ms. 372 is rather fragmentary. The old *Catalogue* (1840) describes it thus (p. 65): "Membranaceus, in folio majori, ff. 164, sec. xv, ineuntis, binis columnis haud eadem manu descriptus; quoad partem posteriorem anno 1438 exaratus, et anno 1460 peculium Kateryn Burton ex legatione patris sui, Johannis Burton; utrimque mutilus. The Golden Legend, or, Lives of the Saints, translated from the *French* into *English*. It commences from the words 'knowliched that he was overcome bi hym,' in the life of *St. Anthony*. It differs both in the order and the text from the printed editions. At the end, 'Here endith the v. wilis of king

Pharao whiche he used agenst the childrenne of Israelle.' 'And also here endith the lives of Seintis, that is callid in Latynne *Legenda aurea*, and in Englissh the gilte legende, the which is drawn out of Frensshe into Englisshe, the yere of oure lorde a·m·cccc·and·xxxviiij; bi a synfulle wretche, whos name I beseche Jhesu Criste bi his meritis of his passiounne and of alle these holie seintes afore written, that hit mai be written in the boke of everlastinge life. Amen. Also here endith the life of Adam and of Eve.' See above, ms. 15, ff. 8 b., 76. After the colophon occurs the following note, 'Be hit remembryd,' etc. (as quoted by Horstmann).

The new *Catalogue* (Madan, 1897, vol. iv, p. 610) gives (the No. is here 21947) the additional information that: "The book is badly mutilated and has lost many leaves: mutilated are foll. 14, 29, 40," etc. "A full description of the ms. is in C. Horstmann's *Altenglische Legenden*, Neue Folge (1881), p. cxxx. . . . 'E. Trotter' (17th cent.) is on fol. 8."

In the binding of the ms. is pasted a slip reading: "13423. *Legenda Sanctorum*, in Englysshe.—*A large folio manuscript, on vellum, the initials highly illuminated.* From Mr. Herbert's collection, 5 l. 5 s. Contains the following note: *Conclude this booke was wrote before the institution of the Order of the Garter, as no mention is made thereof in the life of St. George, as in Caxton's first edition of Legenda Aurea, 1483.*" This slip is, judging from the ms. note by Douce (? so Horstmann says, probably right), merely a bookseller's cat. note. There is quite a long note in what Horstmann calls Douce's hand, on one of the blank leaves at the beginning. It reads: "The ignorant and wanton spoliation of this still valuable ms. is much to be regretted. I suspect that it had passed through Bagford's hands and had been shewn by hym to Walter Clavell. See his collections No. 5977 among the Harl. mss. In Osborne's catalogue of Lord Oxford's library, vol. iii, p. 125, mention is made of the bequest of a book by a Nun of Campessey in terms much resembling those in the last leaf of this ms. There is an English Golden Legend in the Harleian collection of mss. No. 4775 written at the same time as the present, and apparently by the same scribe. It is of the same size and, probably, a duplicate. The latter end is unfortunately wanting, but it has the beginning,

which this has not. Another copy, but likewise damaged and imperfect was in Mr. J. Towneley's library and sold at his auction for £12.— Query, if this copy of Mr. Towneley's ms. was not that mentioned in the extract from some bookseller's catalogue which I have pasted in the inside of the cover, and whether it is not now in Mr. Hebers' possession? Mr. Hebers' ms. begins, mutilated, with the life of St. Andrew; has lost several leaves in various places and ends, mutilated, in the 'Storie of Cain.' Compared with Jean de Vignay's French translation it omits the interpretation of the names of the Saints and all following the dedication of the church. It adds the lives of St. Alban & Amphibalus and the stories of Adam, etc. It is a large folio written in the middle of the 15th century, and has some illuminated borders." As Douce says, the hand (at the beginning, at least) resembles that in H. 4775, and the design of the capitals is the same; but it seems to us that it cannot be the same hand.

I shall also indicate the exact condition of this ms., as nearly as I could discover it, with reference to the contents; cf. the table of H. The ms. has been much mutilated by the cutting out of many of the illuminated initials; but I shall not enumerate such mutilations except where they seriously damage the text. As Dr. Horstmann says (*Alteng. Leg.*), the ms. is incomplete at the beginning, the first words being from *St. Anthony*: "knowleched that he was ouercome bi hym," etc. (*Leg.* p. 104, l. 14). All goes well, with no serious mutilations, until we get to the end of *St. Matthew*, fol. 26 b. This ends: "Bede seyth also þat hit" — (cf. *Leg.* p. 186, l. 34). The next folio begins: "deuyntli shewed howe the relikes were precieuse" (*Leg.* p. 198, l. 17), which would at first seem to indicate a very considerable lacuna, but the order of the *narraciones* is quite different from the Graesse text, and I doubt if more than a folio is lost. Fol. 29 has been mutilated by the cutting out of an initial; and here another folio is lacking; fol. 29 ends: "And þan þis heremyte gaf þankinges to god · and þought," etc.; the next begins: "be at the counsel that were parted · iij · dayes bifore," etc. (*Leg.* p. 195, l. 17; and 201, l. 20). A folio is missing from *St. Benet*; fol. 30 b. ends: "constreyned hem to kepe more streytly"— (p. 205). The next folio begins: "he seid þat he wold in no wyse tast eny mete" (208, l. 13). Then there comes a big gap after fol.

31, which ends: "ij. Nonnys of noble kynrede that coude not kepe her"—(210, l. 39). The next begins: "man, and asked for-geuenesse and fro thens," etc. (p. 222), at the end of the *Annunciation*, so we have lost a part of *St. Benet*, all of *St. Patrick*, and practically all of the *Annunciation*. After this comes a folio of the *Passion* (p. 226, 1), which breaks off: "hyt byhoued a gret space and a gret dilacion of tyme · and he asked of delyueraunce"—. The next folio (No. 33) has evidently been misplaced, as it begins: "þe sone of god, for it is trewe þat bifore he had a sone he myht not be callid fadir," etc., which is from *St. Siluester* (p. 76, l. 1), one folio being left here, showing that the legends coming before *S. Anthony* were once part of this ms. The present folio ends: "þ^t þei sholde diligently gouerne þe Chirches & kepe her shepe fro bityng of þe"—(p. 79, l. 12). Folio 34 carries us into a fragment of the "Twelfth day þ^t is callid þe Epiphanye." It begins (p. 92): "in maner as it had been a guyde. & whan þes kynges . . . & so entrid into þe hous · & þer þei sawe marie & þe Childe," etc. As in H. 4775, much of the theological matter of the Latin is left out, and the chapter is much abridged. After it comes: "of Saynt Poule the Heremyte, Capitulo · xiiij.," which is complete, and is duly followed by *Seynt Remigy*, which breaks off: "And þen long tyme aftir, so as Denobande (*sic*) had"—(p. 96, l. 37). The next begins: "whiche was cursid in the lawe shulde make an offering to oure lorde nother," etc. (p. 587, l. 31), from the *Nativ. of Our Lady*, which ends on fol. 37, followed by *Seint Cecile*, *capitulo · xiiij*—which is complete, and duly followed by *St. Adrian*, also complete.

The next fol. (40) goes into the *Passion of our Lord*, see above; but it is still imperfect. Folios 40 and 41 have been mutilated by cutting out initials. On fol. 41 begins *St. Secounde*, which is complete, barring mutilation, and duly followed by *Marie Egipciane* (complete, cap. lj.) and *St. Ambrose*. The latter breaks off on fol. 44, b.: "we wil nat deliuere the Chirch of god for þe"—(257, 5). Folio 45 begins: "and that is signified the difference þat is seid in the maistre of stories," etc., which is, as a marginal note shows, in the *Adscensio* (p. 320, l. 30). This is regularly completed, but folio 48 is badly mutilated, affecting the end of *Adscensio* and beginning of "[*Pentec*]oste · Cap. lxxiiij." After *Pentecost* comes *St. Jerome*

(cap. lxxv.), on fol. 51, and next *St. Gordian* and *SS. Nereyne & Achille* (fol. 53). The latter is just complete, part of the colophon being gone. Folio 54 begins in the life of *Barnabas*: "with drawe zow fro suche vanites and conuerte zow to god" (p. 347). This is followed by *St. Vile*, *SS. Quyrine and Julitte* (cap. lxxv°), *Maryne*, etc., regularly, as in H. One folio, certainly not more, is wanting in *Alban*, after fol. 57, which ends: "Romaynes gretli oppressid the Bretons . . . chose . . . the Duke"—; the next begins: "un to Albones house hors men with a grete power of foote men," etc. Only a little more than one folio of *Nativ. John Bapt.* is left (ff. 63–64), and the end of *John and Paul*. *St. Leo the Pope* is complete, as is *St. Peter*. Several folios are lacking in the *Commemoracion of St. Poule*. Fol. 69 ends: "thei were alle abasshid, for the bodi turned & ioyned"—; the next: "Whan he is re-streyned of his sorwyng. Ryt so Poule," etc., near the end of the legend (*Leg.*, p. 385, l. 12; and 395).

On folio 72 b., begins "þe lyfe of seinte kalixt. Cap°. ·lxxxvij°." This is really the legend of *Alexius*; and in the body of the legend, as in H. 4775 and H. 630, he is called "Alex," or "Alix," though it is still "kalixt" in the colophon. This also shows that D. is akin to the two H. mss.

Only about one folio of *Marie Magd.* is left, and about two-thirds of *Appollinare*. After fol. 78 we lose a leaf containing the end of *St. Christofore* and the beginning of the *Seven Slepers*. The life of *St. Dominik* breaks off on fol. 88 b., thus: "And she . . . answerid . . . I am pees þat dwellith [here"—catchword]; the next fol. begins: "and constreyned hem to do sacrifice to Jubiter," etc., at the end of *St. Donat*. *St. Sixte* is, therefore, wanting (p. 482, 35; and 486). *St. Laurence* is also imperfect. It breaks off on fol. 90, thus: "And Gregorie of Toures seith . . . repaired the Chirch of seinte Laurence"—(p. 494); the next begins: "seith seinte Denys. And whan the blessid virgynes (*sic*) sawge" (p. 506, 33), which is in the *Assumptio*; and this legend also lacks another leaf, as fol. 92 breaks off in the story of the devout clerk (p. 513, 2), and fol. 93 begins just before the story of the Jewish boy (p. 515, 5); and another leaf after fol. 93. The legend was translated at full length. Two folios in *St. Bartilmewe* are mutilated. A good part of *St. Augustyn* is lost; fol. 102 ends: "singinge the songe

of degrees þ ʒaf me"—, while the next carries us nearly to the end: "to Pavie with gret ioye, and þere he was sette . . . in the Chirch of seinte Petre," etc.; the order is slightly different, as usual, from the Latin (p. 553, l. 15; *of degrees = graduum*; and p. 562). The title reads erroneously (fol. 103): "Navien and Savyne," and colophon (104) "Navynien," as in H. After fol. 105 there is a gap, but it is impossible to say exactly what is lost, as the *Nativity* and *St. Cecilia* both occur above. We have certainly lost, however, the end of *St. Giles*, and all of *Adrian*, as the next fol. begins with the colophon: "Adrean. And begynnithe the lyf of seint Gorgonien." The end of *Eufemie* is lost (fol. 110): "And anone thei ronnen to the virgine Eufemye" (p. 621, 37)—. The next goes to *St. Mathew*: "anone. and than the kinge þ^t hight Eglippus sent," etc.; not more than one leaf (p. 623, 37). Only a half dozen lines of the beginning of "seinte angell" are left (fol. 116). The next folio begins: "that was so drie scorchild in þ grete heete of þ sonne," etc. (p. 655), which is in *St. Jerome*, as a heading on the folio indicates. Folio 120, in *St. Francis*, breaks off (p. 667): "Whan he was on a time in his praieris he sawe uppon the"—. The next begins: "neuer shriue of a synne that I shalle nowe telle you," etc.; probably two leaves gone (p. 672, l. 21). Fol. 122, containing end of *Pellagien* and beginning of *Margaret*, is mutilated. Fol. 122 breaks off near the beginning of *Thais*, and the next begins: "shulde nat suffre suche sorowe," etc., in *St. Denys*, showing a loss of one leaf (678, l. 15; and 682, l. 3). Folio 125 breaks off in *St. Leonard*: "he wende that he had dremed, and did noþing"—; the next goes on: "wisdome. And the storie seith he taugt whan he shewid," etc., in *St. Luke*, a loss of at least two leaves (p. 691, l. 4; and 697, l. 28). *St. Ursula* is incomplete. Fol. 128 takes us into *Simon & Jude*, with these words: "mete or drinke or sleepe. the Appostullis come to hem and seide," etc., which shows a loss of two leaves. Folio 128 is also mutilated (p. 709, l. 34).

The *Cōmemoracioun of alle Soulis* has a lacuna; fol. 133 ends: "in a place besidis helle that is callid purgatorie"—; the next begins: "in the deedis of the Appostullis: I sawe the heuen opene," etc., a loss of at least two leaves. Another folio is lost after fol. 134, containing close of *Theodore* and beginning of *Martin* (pp.

729, l. 39; 737, l. 6; 740–743). *St. Elizabeth* breaks off in Nar. No. 9, p. 768 (ms. fol. 140). The next folio begins: "And his breste, and seide this daie I knoweliche the to my brothir," etc., in *St. Cecile*, as a headline notes (p. 773). This seems to be the same as that given above, fol. 37 following, but with slight orthographic differences, whose nature I shall not attempt to indicate. The lines just quoted appear also on fol. 38: ["Cecile kissed his"] breste and saide, this daye I knoulage the to be my brother." It is worth noting that this earlier chapter on *St. Cecile* is numbered xxiiiij, and the *Adrian*, xxv (that is, the C is omitted, as they should be 124, 125), while the later *Cecile* was, presumably, CLXII, since the following chapter, *Clement*, is 163, which agrees with the H. ms. in both cases.

The *St. Clement* breaks off on fol. 143: "And Clement tellith in his"—(p. 784, l. 7). The next folio takes us into the life of *St. Catherine*, near the beginning; as in the other mss., it is somewhat different from the Latin (cf. comments below). As in H. and E. the life of "Abbot Arsieny" occurs on fol. 151, not distinguished from the text of *Moises*. On fol. 152, after *Agathen*, comes "the life of Balaham þe heremite," which again agrees exactly with H. Unfortunately it is incomplete, breaking off on fol. 154: "And thā he avised hym and thought that hit was better"—cf. *Leg.* p. 820, and *Progr.* p. 14, l. 35. Fol. 155 goes into *Pelagien*: "anone he confessid with clere vois the holie gooste," etc. (p. 842), indicating the loss of a good many folios. After fol. 156 there is another lacuna, in which we lose half of the *Dedication*, all of *Advent*, and all but about twenty lines of the *Concepcion*. The last piece, the *Pharao*, is complete. The mutilation of folio 157 affects slightly the *Adam*.

In ms. Egerton 876 we find again some approach to completeness, a relief after the confusing gaps in D. The Egert. ms. is more carefully written than H., and is altogether the best specimen of work among our mss. But I shall again dispense with mere descriptive details, and note only, by way of supplement to Dr. Horstmann's comments, some peculiarities, and the lacunae in the contents.

This ms. contains at the beginning a table of contents, in a modern hand, giving references to the folios, which have been numbered

by the same hand, followed by what is called a Glossary, whose value may be guessed from this: "Unnethe—not, at last, before;" two leaves are filled by the table and Glossary; at the end of the latter is the note: "N. B. Read with this Legend a Book Call'd, Reflections upon ye Devotions of ye Roman Church, printed at London for Rich^d Royston An. Dom. 1674." The first folio, containing the beginning of *St. Andrew*, is gone, and portions of the second are illegible. The close of *St. Nicholas* is lacking; fol. 6 breaks off: "that whanne he fille into the see anone the bisshop seint Nicholas come"—(p. 29, l. 2)—and the next folio (7) begins: "And thanne the apostill taught shorteli," etc. (p. 37, l. 39), in *St. Thomas*, showing a loss of, probably, two leaves, with end of *Nicholas*, *Lucy* and most of *Thomas*. All seems right until fol. 57, which ends: "thou hast more tormented hym with"—(p. 172, l. 2)—and fol. 58 begins: "his sone, ne the sone the fader, for Ruben wende," etc. (p. 185, l. 5); so we have two incomplete legends (*Agas* and *Matthew*), besides losing all those intervening. There is another gap after fol. 64, which ends: "in that tyme men helde more in chirches—" (p. 201, l. 9), in *Gregory*; and fol. 65 begins: "priuely fro his norice," etc. (p. 204), in the beginning of *St. Benette*, with loss of all of *Longens*. Only one folio of *St. Mark* remains; it begins near the bottom of fol. 85 b., which breaks off: "Seint marke . . . was of the ordre"—(p. 265)—and the end is found on the next fol., which starts: "smyten of withe an axe," etc. (p. 269, l. 35). The legend of *Sts. John and Paul*, which Dr. Horstmann also omitted from his table of H., is on fol. 141. The *St. Francis* breaks off, fol. 245: "In the Citee of Susse that an"—(p. 673, l. 32)—and the next folio goes to *Thais*, as a marginal note shows: "—well that be thi praiers y may haue foryeu- enesse," etc. (p. 678, l. 15), with loss of *Pellagien* and *Margaret*. The *Commemoracion of Soules* breaks off, fol. 269: "for the soules that passe oute"—(p. 738, l. 27); and, again, a marginal note tells us that the opening words on fol. 270 are from *St. Theodore* (p. 741, l. 5): "with a gret suetnesse of sote sauour," etc.; we lose all of the *IV Crowned Martirs*, and nearly all of *Theodore*, as well as the end of *All Soules*. The life of the *Abbot Moyses*, on fol. 299, agrees with the Latin, except that, as in other mss., it lacks the last tale (p. 807); and immediately after it comes the life of "*seint*

Arsenye the abbot," without any separate chapter heading, and the colophon, too, states erroneously: "here endithe the liif of Abbot Moyses" (cf. H. fol. 237, and D. fol. 151). *Advent* is incomplete; fol. 324 ends: "that haue similitude of sterres. and thei be said"—(p. 6, l. 20); the next folio begins with the title of *Adam and Eve*. The last four or five folios of the text, including all of *Pharao*, are so badly damaged as to be almost illegible. After the close of the *Pharao* we find some leaves of a sort of index, in the same hand as the table at the beginning.

Lansdowne ms. 350 is described in the *Catalogue* as containing "a fragment of the Golden Legend, in English, written in the xvth century." Only half a page is left, bound up in a volume with other things, which do not concern us. The ms., I should judge, was originally about the size of H. or A. It is written in double column, like the other mss., and, where not defaced by ill usage, the writing is clear, with two large colored initials left. One side of the leaf is almost illegible. It begins: "[ta]ke hit ayen, and sone aftir he dyed. And yet att this day hit is kept that men maken her oth for gret causes upoñ the reliques of seynt pancrace." (cf. *Leg.* p. 341). Next come fragments from *Urban*, from *Pernelle*, and (*verso*) *Petre the Dekenne*, the leaf ending with another fragment from *Prime and Felicianne*. Judged by the size of the page, general appearance, and handwriting, this leaf seems one of the lost portions of Add. 11,565, which has a lacuna just where these legends should come in, and I have no hesitation in saying that it is so.

Addit. ms. 11,565 is the last of our mss., and the most important. One of the surprising things about it is that it escaped Dr. Horstmann's notice; but this may be due to the misleading way in which it is coupled, in the *Catalogue*, with Egert. 876 (= Addit. 11,565), as if it was merely another numbering and name for the same ms. But it is separately described under its proper number, and what the *Catal.* probably meant was that it, like E., was a ms. of the 15th century *Golden Legend*. We shall describe its present condition as minutely as possible, for the additional legends found make this ms. the corner-stone of the argument as to Caxton's sources.

The volume contains, first, Bonaventura's *Life of Christ* (incomplete), in English prose. And then, on fol. 34 (according to the modern numbering), in a very similar hand, and in the same general

style, we find our *Golden Legend*. It is introduced by this heading : "Here bygynneth the life of seyntes. and this boke is called yn latyn *legenda sanctorum*. Of the whiche first bygynneth the life of Seinte Andrewe the Apostle. S. S. S. S." The ms. is not so well written as H. or E., and in a slightly larger hand, but is quite clear. The text is, where they agree at all, as close to that of the other mss. as they are to one another, showing that all belong to the same translation. As in h., we sometimes find marginal notes, in what seems a contemporary hand, like that which numbered the folios before the rubricator did his work, and some of these emendations will be noted below. The folios were originally numbered in red (Roman), but the rubricator never finished his task, and through a third of the work we have only the numbers in faint black which were later to have been covered by the red ; there is also a modern numbering, to which I refer by Arabic numerals. The pages of the ms. are about the same size as those of H. ; and there are initials, but not as elaborate or as well executed as those in H. and E. The ms. has been considerably damaged by rough usage, some folios being cut, some blackened as if by water, or rubbed so as to be all but illegible, to say nothing of the numerous folios lost. As the general content and order is the same as in H., except where otherwise specified, I shall not repeat the table, but merely indicate the gaps and departures from the normal. The top of fol. 39 is cut away, so that we lose a portion of *St. Thomas*, which begins here ; and similarly, of course, on verso. A similar mutilation (same legend), less extensive, on fol. 40, col. 1. There is one folio missing after fol. xi (44) containing the end of *St. John* and beginning of the *Innocents* ; fol. 44 ends : "and prayth til ye se thes yerdes & thes stones turne in to her owne nature"—(*Leg.*, p. 59, l. 8). Fol. 45 (these numbers take no account of lost leaves) begins : "same toke the rewme of yude of Cesar August" (p. 63, l. 24).

The title of the legend "of seint Thomas of Canturbury. And of Gilbert Beket his fader" (fol. 45, b.) is enough to attract our attention. It is, indeed, a totally different story from that in the *Legenda* and in E. and h. mss., and furnished the earliest instance I discovered in which Caxton had used something not in the *Legenda*, and not in Vignay, and not in Belet. That he used this ms. version will be shown by certain parallels to be given later. The title of

the present chapter has pen-strokes through it, as has the text itself (cf. other lives of Becket, and notably the Caxton, see Blades); but the lines are too faint to injure the text. The legend breaks off near the end, which approximates to the Latin here, on fol. xx (52): "And than his brayne ran al aboute his hed like [a diademe. And]"—*catchwords*], cf. *Leg.*, p. 68.

The next folio is numbered xxix (53), which, if it be correct, shows a loss of eight folios. We begin with these words "—of oure lorde. And than al the peple tende pere tapyrs of hir tapir," etc., which is a familiar anecdote, though new to the *Legenda* in any previous form, being from the life of *St. Dunstan*! We cannot pause here to show the close parallels to Caxton, or to speculate as to what other new legends might have been on those eight lost leaves. The *St. Dunstan* ends on the reverse of fol. 53, and is succeeded by another new legend: *St. Aldelme the confessour*. Then (fol. xxx = 54) *St. Theophile*, which is new in our mss.; it has lost one folio, after 54: "And than the Jewe and his moder with many othir Jewes"—(*Narracio* 5, in *Leg.*, p. 515-16). The next fol. continues the miracles of the Virgin which make up the latter part of the chapter entered under the well known name of *Theophilus*, whose story will be found in *Leg.* p. 593-4; cf. p. 871, and the cognate story in *St. Basile*, p. 122. And *Theophilus* is found again in this ms., as in the others, in the *Nativity of our Lady*, fol. clxx (164); but in the present chapter it is given more fully than in the Lat. p. 593. The chapter ends: "Here endith the life of seint Theophile. and next bygynneth the life of seint Swythen." We now get: *St. Swythen*, *St. Kenelme*, *St. Chadde*, *St. Cuthbert*, *St. Feith* (all new, except last), *St. Dorathe* (new to mss.; from Lat. p. 910), *St. Leger* (Lat. p. 660, repeated below, f. 180, and in other mss.). *St. Brandan* begins on fol. 59 (xxxvi), and breaks off on fol. 61 b.: "for he shal suffir payne therfore here in thy"—¹ Only one folio is lost, and the next (xl = 62) begins the life of *Silvester*, followed by the *Circumcision*, and the *Epiphanye*, both, as in other mss., slightly compressed translations of the Latin. The order of H. is now resumed.

The title of *St. Fabian* (H. cap. 21) reads (fol. XLVIII): *Sebas-*

¹ Caxton, K. P. p. 1137, omits the sentence of which this is a part; it should come just before his sentence: "and these two oxe tonges that hange," etc.

tian, an error which the colophon corrects. After fol. 84 we lose a folio with the end of *Purification* and part of *Blase*. The fol. ends: "And it is seid also ypotant, that is presentacion as to the yeste"—(cf. Lat. p. 163); the next folio begins: "—cucion of diocision. And there he leuyd the life of an hermite"—in the life of *St. Blase* (p. 167). On fol. 88 b. the "chayryng of saint peter" breaks off: "thei schoven his crowne of his hed in the hiest parte therof in dispite of"—(p. 182). The next folio begins, in the middle of *St. Matthew*: "— of me in Jerusalem and in al Jude and Samary," etc. (Lat. p. 186). In the last col. of fol. 96 b. (LXXVI) begins the "Annunciacion of oure lorde Jhū crist" (same as elsewhere, despite difference in title), which breaks off just below: "ffirst, for the orders of reparacion answeare to the order [of preuaricacion"—catchwords]—Lat. p. 216. The next folio is numbered LXXXV (97), so we have again lost eight folios. We find ourselves in the life of *Ambrose* (Lat. p. 255): "— ne and he aroose and come to melane in hast." Presuming that the order is the same as in H., we have lost nearly all of the *Annunciacion*, all of the *Passion*, *Seconde*, *Marie Egipcian*, and half of *Ambrose*, after which we go on regularly through cap. 64, *Ascencion*. This ends at the top of the second col. of fol. CI (113 b.), with the colophon announcing: "and next bygynneth the fest of Pentecost." But the rest of the column is blank, and at the bottom, in the margin, is a scroll with the catchwords: "So as the story," which are the first words of *Pentecost*, cf. H., fol. 85; h., fol. 142; E., fol. 111 b. But the next fol. begins: "by gret dispite, and skrat hym in the uisage," etc., in *Quirine and Julite* (Lat. p. 352); the folio is numbered CX (114), so we have again lost eight leaves, containing, presumably, all the legends between caps. 65–76. Among these, as noted above, would be *Urban*, *Pancras*, *Pernelle*, *Peter*, *Prime* and *Felician*, fragments of which are in Lansd. 350.

In the *St. Albon* there are several instances of marginal corrections; e. g. on fol. 116 b. the text omits a whole sentence, Mary's question to the angel, in Amphiabel's narration of the Annunciation; in the margin it is properly inserted: "þan seid mary to þe angel, how may this be sith j knew neuer man?" And there are quite a number of verbal corrections on fol. CXV, in the account of the multitude passing the river to witness Albon's death.

The cap. on *Abdon and Sennes* has been misplaced; instead of coming between *Martha* and *Germain*, it follows the latter, on fol. 145 b., and is incomplete. This folio ends: "and lede hem with hym bounde yn to the Cite of Cor [duple. And ther he made"—*catchwords*], Lat. p. 447. The next folio finds us in the middle of *Laurence* (Lat. p. 494): "othir partie alle brent, as it appered yn the morowe to alle visible." From the original numbering (in black ink now) it would seem that we have again lost eight leaves, between ff. CXXI and CL, with all of the legends between the *Abdon* (here = H. 101) and cap. 110. In the legend of the *Assumption*, fol. CLII (148) ends: "Seint Jerom (Lat. p. 511 has *Augustinus*, = E. f. 193, *Seint Austine*) ne affermeth this thymg (*sic*) oonly but proueth hit by iij resons. And the first reson"—. The next fol. begins: "not Orphanes. And the blessyd virgyn Marie," etc., showing a loss of two leaves at least (cf. Lat. p. 518). The unfinished task of the rubricator is responsible for the omission of the "verse ayenst hem that loued detraccion," written by St. Augustine "yn his borde," see Lat. p. 555; a space is left for its insertion on fol. 158, and the translation is given, though the Latin is omitted: "This is to say, who so euer loue to myssay any creature that is not here present att this borde he may welle say hit is denyed him att alle." A similar instance occurs on fol. 173, cf. Lat. p. 591. There is a folio missing between CLXXII and CLXXIII. The former breaks off in the legend of *Adrian*: "art made worthy to be yn the noumbre"— (p. 600); the latter begins: "kyssyd hym. But Eugeny hadde vtterly abhominacion of hir," etc., in *Prothe and Jacincti* (p. 603). On several previous pages one finds the name of *John Elger*, in a modern script; and the same occurs several times on fol. 169 b., once in print-like letters, with the date 1680, and once *Thos. Elger*.

The life of "St. Matheu" has a misleading colophon: "here endith the life of seint Crisostome" (fol. 172, b.); it should be *Matthew*, followed by *St. Moris*, which breaks off: "they yeldyn to god that longyde to godde, and to Cesar that lon"—(Lat. p. 629). The next goes into *Justine* (p. 633): "with Ciprien. and att last she conuertyde hym," etc. The chapter on the "holy sollemnite of seint mychael," which begins on fol. 175 b., introduces an interesting addition. We find, first, as in the other MSS., a version

based on the *Legenda*, though differing slightly in order from the Graesse text. All the other MSS. end with the translation of the words (Lat. p. 649): *Tunc summus pontifex . . . statuit celebrandum*; cf., for example, E., fol. 238, with the colophon: "Here endithe the lyff of seint michael. and next beginnethe the lyff of Seint Jerome. Cap. CXXXIX." But in place of this the present MS. has: "Here folowith an exposicion of the same mater here byfore reherssyth (*sic*), made by a nother doctour of holy chirche." This additional story has nothing to do with the conclusion as given in the *Legenda*, and, except for the first few sentences, nothing to do with *St. Michael*: it is a familiar sort of "legend" masquerading under his name, and is the prose form of what is found in the *Early South Eng. Legendary* (Laud MS. 108), p. 311; the relations between the two must be discussed later. After this new chapter we go on regularly with *St. Jerome*, *St. Regius* (in text it is *Remige*), etc. The legend of *St. Theodore*, which should come after "the IIII corouned martirs," on fol. CCIX, is omitted. Similarly, *St. Cecile* is omitted after *Elizabeth*, fol. CCXV, next to whom comes *Clement*; it is to be noted that this omission is proper, as *Cecile* occurs above on fol. 172; the other MSS. have duplicated the legend. The last legend left in the volume is the incomplete *St. Katheryne*, which, as in other MSS., is different from the Latin. It begins on fol. 210, and breaks off three folios later, losing about a fourth of the story, thus: "thou merueloust (*sic*) gretly of this temple that is made with manys honde, and of the precious ornament that shal be as poudre byfore [the wynde thou"—*catchwords*], cf. E. fol. 292 b. I think we may safely guess that this MS., more comprehensive than any of the others, originally contained the dozen or more legends remaining in E. and H. That this MS., as well as all the others, suffered in Protestant hands is shown not only by the defaced *Thomas à Becket*, but by the frequent erasure of the word *Pope*; e. g., on fol. 170, and cf. H. ff. 92, 108, 117, etc., and h. f. 155, etc., etc.

The additions made by these English MSS. to the original material of the *Legenda* are comparatively slight, if we except those in A. I have been able to discover only five: (1) *St. Katherine*, (2) *Alban*, (3) *Concepsioun of oure ladie* (which is, however, in the addenda to Jacobus's work, p. 869), (4) *Adam and Eve*, and (5) *Pharao*. The

2nd, 4th and 5th are manifestly new; I have noted the source of the 3rd. The first bases on another version of the *St. Katherine* legend, and is the same in all the mss. Here are a few lines from the beginning (E. f. 286 b.; A. f. 210; h. f. 359 b.; D. f. 145, etc.): "Here beginnithe the right excellent and most glorious liif and passion of the right blessed uirgine seint katerine, whiche bi dissent of lyne was of the noble kinrede of the Emperours of Rome, as it shall be declared more plainly here after bi a notable cronicle; whos most blessed lyff and conuersacion was wretin of the solempne doctour athanasius, that knewe her birthe, her kinrede, her lyff and conuersacion," etc.

The Add. ms. gives us the following new legends, some of which are, of course, but variations on old themes:

Thomas Becket (<i>incompl.</i>).	Swythen.	Feith.
Dunstan (<i>incompl.</i>).	Kenelme.	Dorathe.
Aldelme.	Chadde.	Brandan (<i>incomplete</i>).
Theophile (<i>incompl.</i>)	Cuthbert.	Michael (<i>2nd part</i>).

With these exceptions, the material in the English version comes from the *Legenda Aurea*. Was the translation direct from the Latin, or through the de Vignay French? Those who have been before us have inclined to the latter view. Dr. Horstmann says (*Alteng. Leg., N. F.* p. cxxxiii): . . . "it is certain that the work is not translated directly from Latin, but from French. I decide rather for the credibility of the notice in the Douce ms. ['drawen out of Frensshe into Englisshe,' as against Harl. 630, 'aftre pe tenur of pe latin'] . . . The English version follows de Vignay's translation exactly, word for word, and has the same contents; only a few pieces are added (as Machar)," etc. This last statement shows how cursory must have been Dr. Horstmann's examination; for, as noted above (p. 36), *Macarius*, though omitted from the *index*, occurs in the *text* of the Vignay mss. But we have whole pages of evidence to show convincingly that the English mss. by no means follow Vignay word for word, and though all of it cannot be given, I shall present enough to show that the English translator used the Latin, even if he did also know the French.

In the first place, we may reason somewhat as in the case of the Belet French: the English mss. do not translate any of the *Legenda*

etymologies; they would have been much more likely to have done so had these puzzling bits of Latin been already turned into French, thus furnishing a model, in the original from which they drew. But this, of course, is a mere matter of opinion, in which many may differ from me. Let us note a few details in certain legends—it would be impossible if not unnecessary to examine them all—wherein the English differs from the French. To facilitate reference we shall use these abbreviations: Vignay ms. Add. 16907 = Va.; ms. Egert. 645 = Ve.; ms. Royal 19 B. xvii = Vr.; ms. Français 241 = Vf.; Français 242 = Vff.; Oxford printed Vignay = Vo.; Stowe ms. 50–51 = S., and its printed replica = V.

The short legend of *St. Marine* (Lat. p. 353) is not in S. or V., but is in other versions, e. g. Va., fol. 127; Vr., fol. 146 b.; Vo., fol. 123, etc.; and in the English mss., e. g. A. fol. 114, and E. fol. 124 b., both of which agree in all essentials. These mss. have the following sentence, which is not in the French, and not in Graesse's text: "And so he dyed and sche abode in her holy purpos. And contynued hir selfe (*E. lyff*) as an holy monke, Unknowyng to alle creatures that she was a woman." The absence of these words in our present Latin does not count against my point: it is certain they do not come from the French. An exactly similar state of affairs occurs just below: "Whaṇ the fader and the moder herd this, they went to the abot and made an horrible clamor upon hym for his monke. the abbot, hauyng gret schame and sorowe for the foule clamor, sent for maryne, and askyd," etc. This, too, is neither in the French nor in the Latin; several other instances occur in the same legend (cf. for the story, *St. Theodora*, p. 398–99). Again, in *St. Pernelle* (p. 343), the Latin: "*et postmodum in equuleo tortam occidit*," is rendered by the mss. (Eg. f. 121): "and sethe he made her to be tormented upon the turment that is called Eculee. And sithe he dede her to be slayne"; whereas the French has (Va. 123 b.; Vr. 142; Vo. 120): "*et puis la fist tormenter en couuent deculee* (*sic*, Vr. & Vo. *simply* en eculee). Cest un torment fait en la lumiere (*sic*, Vr. & Vo. *maniere*) dun sautoir (Vr., *sâtoner*; Vo., *sautoner*)" etc. V. and S. have an amplified form of the *St. Patrick*; but all the other Vignay versions are translated from the Latin, and certain points in the English mss. point to a possible use of these versions, while others prove independent use of the

Latin. The Latin (p. 213): "*ligna et coria illius regionis contraria, ut dicitur, sunt veneno*," is rendered (Vr. 90; Vf. 83; Va. 77): "les fus & les cuirs de cele contree sont contraires a venim," = E. fol. 69: "the trees and the lether of that contre bene holsom agenst venym"—in H. f. 54 b., "the lepres," in h. f. 94, "the teeres and the leprs," in A. f. 96, "the teeres & the lepour." E. is the only one that is correct here, and might, of course, have come as well from the French as from the Latin. A little further on, the French mss. have mistranslated the Latin invocation (p. 214): "*Jesu Christe fili Dei vivi miserere mihi peccatori*," = "Jhūcris filz de dauid (*sic omnes*) aies pitie de moi pechieur"; but the Eng. mss. have not translated the Latin, which they all quote. In every instance the French translates (the error *dauid* occurring only once; elsewhere, *de dieu vif*), while the English preserves the Latin. The French renders *dominus noster Beelzabub* (p. 215) by, "belzebus nostre seigneur," and the English, "belsabub oure maister." And to these one might add a number of similar small points; but we shall note only a few of the more significant. In the *Holy Cross*, as generally, the French renders *hystoria scholastica* (Lat. p. 304) by "lystoire escoliere" (Vr. f. 126), while the English has "maistre of stories." The Latin (p. 304): "*crux Christi ex quatuor generibus lignorum fuisse perhibetur, scilicet palmarum, cypressi, olivae, et cedri. Unde versus: Ligna crucis palma, cedrus, cypressus, oliva*," is rendered fully and with fair accuracy in the Eng.; but the French has: "de palme, de cypres, de cedre, et de liben," and omits the *unde versus*, etc. Yet, just above, the English: "and men seyen that the menyng (*sic, for meuyng*) of the watir ne the curacion of sike peple was not onli done for that the Aungel come downe but bi the vertu of that Tree," is not so near the Latin as it is to the French: "Et dit len que le mouvement de cele eaue ne la curacion des malades nestoit pas faite tant seulement pour ce que langre (*sic*) y estoit, mes par la vertu de celi fust." Finally, the Eng. mss. translate the Latin (p. 305): *Quo signo crucis non profanare*, while the French omit it.

The evidence is manifestly conflicting; it was my purpose to present something from both sides, so that no one could be misled into thinking that everything clearly pointed to the Latin rather than to the French as our original. But despite the confusing

nature of the evidence, I have no doubt that the English mss. were translated from the Latin.

When we undertake to determine the inter-relations of the five English mss. we encounter problems quite as difficult of solution. One piece of evidence alone will suffice to show, I believe, that all of the mss. are but copies. In the legend of *St. Germaine* the anecdote of the cowherd who became king of Britain is thus botched by all the mss.¹: "And thanne the kingges cowherde hadde ledde his bestes to pasture. so as the saxenes faught ayenst the Bretones," etc. The confusion is due to the omission of a dozen or so lines of the story; and the fact that it is common to all the Eng. mss. proves my point, without the aid of further evidence that could be presented.

Another point of which I am positive, and this in the face of Dr. Horstmann's statement to the contrary, is that D. is not, in text, "very close to E.," but an almost exact duplicate of H. I collated a number of legends, and found not only very few verbal changes, but scarcely any orthographic changes in D. and H., with this exception, that D. uses almost uniformly the "þ" for "th," and frequently "ȝ," spirant, both of which are sparingly used in H. Here are a few of the results of my comparison: In the bit quoted from the H. *Barlaam* (*Progr.* p. 17), we find D. fol. 152 agreeing exactly, except for the use of þ and ȝ, even to the error of "alle Iudee" which drew an (!) from the editor. In *Adam and Eve*, D. fol. 157, and H. fol. 258 b., both omit the bracketed words, which are essential to the sense: "whan Adam was made and [had nat] youeñ hym a name," etc. And just below, both omit the bracketed [A] in the *versus*: "Annotale dedit A., Disis D. contulit, Arthos [A.], M. Memsebrion, collige(t), fiet Adam." In the *Pharao*, also, D. fol. 162, and H. fol. 264, have the common error: "herebi he trustith sikirlie she to bringe hem ayeñ to synne deppere than thei were." Finally, in *St. Matthew*, D. fol. 26 b., and H. fol. 46, have: "And as seynt Jerom seyth, hit sytteth not us by this ensample to use lottis or — (*sic*), for the pryuelege of fewe," etc.; the missing word which the copyist could not decipher and so left

¹ E. fol. 175 b.; A. fol. 145 b.; H. fol. 133 b.; D. fol. 82 b.; and h. fol. 221; with which cf. Lat. p. 450; Vr. fol. 188; V. fol. 208, and Caxton, K. P., pp. 508 and 668. Italics mine.

out is, according to h. fol. 80 b., *sortes*. This last error in particular would seem to support Douce's suggestion that D. and H. were written 'at the same place, and perhaps by the same scribe.' As the H. ms. seems to have been left uncompleted—note the blank ruled folio mentioned above as coming after the unfinished *Pharao*, and the absence of the colophon—while D. is as manifestly finished—witness the complete *Pharao* and the colophon—I should say H. was copied from D. The community in peculiar errors seems to me too great to admit of the possibility of their both being copied, independently, from a common original.

Another error, which elicited another unjustified (!) from Dr. Horstmann,¹ enables us to group together D., H., and h., as against E. and A. In H. the index enters cap. 88 as "St. Calixte;" and so reads the chapter heading on fol. 118 (*kalixt*), and the colophon; but in the body of the text he is called *Alex*, or *Alix*. D., fol. 72 b., agrees exactly, of course. In h. the first table gives it wrong, but the second has *Allexus*; and the chapter heading (fol. 196) and colophon have been corrected by erasing the "C.," and marginal notes call attention to the error, which places h. with D. and H. But in E. and A. we find the name wrong not only in the title and colophon but throughout the text: *Kalixte*, *Calyxt*, *Calex*, etc., always with "C." or "K." There are other similar indications connecting E. and A.; but, to show how little we can rely on such evidence, on fol. 148 b., in the *Assumpcion*, A. has: "Seint Jerom ne affermeth" (= Lat. p. 511 *Augustinus . . . non solum . . . affirmat*), where E., fol. 193, has: "Seint Austine." We cannot, indeed, be sure that any of the mss. except D. and H. are closely related. Instances will appear in the variant readings to the texts below in which first one and then the other gives the only correct reading; to note but one here, there is the case cited above in which all but E. have, in *St. Patrick*, *leper* instead of *leather*. In many cases D. and H. stand together as against the others; and it is quite the most probable supposition, that they are later than the others. In many cases E. and the corrected h. agree, so that it is quite possible that h. was copied from, or collated with E.; there is nothing that renders this impossible, though the colophon at the

¹ See his table of H., in *Program*.

end of h. makes it improbable, as it does not seem likely that an incomplete copy would have assumed the colophon of its completed original. We must remember that in prose slight changes are far easier to make than in verse, and that where the scribe in copying verse would be restrained from obtruding emendations by respect for the form, no such restraint would hamper him here. And corruptions and emendations are reasonably numerous in these MSS., none of which can be shown to be the original. It is, therefore, rather on account of the special feature of the incorporated English and other legends that I assume for Add. MS. 11,565 a priority over the others. For us it is certainly the most important, for here alone are preserved some, not all, of the English legends which Caxton added to his *Golden Legend*.¹

CAXTON.

B. Caxton, as we shall see later, "adapted" the elaborate prologue which Jean de Vignay had prefixed to his *Légende dorée*, but he added another short prologue of his own. In this he says (Blades, I, 167 and II, 153): "Against me here might some persons say that this Legend hath been translated tofore, and truth it is; but forasmuch as I had by me a Legend in French, another in Latin, and the third in English, which varied in many and divers places; and also *many histories were comprised in the two other books which were not in the English book*; ² therefore I have written one out of the said three books." Notwithstanding this candid admission the English book from which Caxton "cribbed" remained long unidentified. Warton says (I, p. 294): "I have observed that Caxton's *Golden Legende* is taken from Voragine. This perhaps is not precisely true. Caxton informs us in his first preface to the first edition of 1483, that he had in his possession a Legend in

¹ The *Life of Christ*, Bonaventure's *Speculum Vitae Christi*, with which this MS. begins, was also printed by Caxton in 1487 (?) and 1488 (?). I have refrained from claiming that the Eng. in MS. A. was also used by Caxton here, since the two have not been compared. Blades (II, 196) does not mention this MS.; he gives MS. Add. 19,901 (early 15th century) as containing "Caxton's text." But the coincidence seems strange, even if not significant.

² I underscore.

French, another in Latin, and a third in English Caxton's English original might have been the old metrical *Lives of the Saints*."¹ This is not a bad guess. Dunlop (II, 254) goes wildly astray on the question. The ms. note by Douce himself shows that he had looked into the matter, if not very deeply. And the Catalogues of the Harleian, Egerton, and Additional mss., though noting that the mss. in question contain a version of the *Legenda*, do not go out of their way to show that this was Caxton's English book.

The first to notice the earlier prose version was Blades (*Life of Caxton*, Lond., 1861-63). He describes two of the mss. thus (II, 152): "*Harl.* 630, English (saec. xv), an anonymous translation, with the following colophon: 'Here endeth the Boke of the life of Seyntes called in latyn *legenda aurea* compiled and drawn into englyssh bi worthi clerkes and doctoūs of Diuinite suengly aftre ye tenir of ye latin.'—*Harl.* 4775, English (saec. xv), the same version as *Harl.* 630, but imperfect at the end."

"It is probable," he continues, "that in Caxton's time the English version here noticed was well known; indeed, we may infer this from the account given by our printer of the origin of his own text"—and here he quotes, as above, from Caxton's prologue.—"Caxton, with his Latin, French, and English copies before him, found a prologue ready to his hand in the version by Jehan de Vignay, this, as was his wont, he translated literally, merely changing two or three inapplicable proper names, and adding some personal observations. The bulk of his text comes also from the same source, *being nearly identical with that of the English MS. already noticed*,"² etc.

The next to notice our ms. was a Mr. Ranking, in a book of legends called *Streams from Hidden Sources* (London, 1872). He gives a short notice of Voragine and of the French versions (p. 66 f.), and speaks of the translation by Caxton. "A similar work in the vernacular was already in existence, as he himself testifies. . . . What this early English work was it is now impossible to say with any certainty; but it may not impossibly have been that which exists among the Harleian mss., and which is attributed to the beginning of the fifteenth century."

¹ See also Petrie, *Monumenta Brit.* (1868), p. 5, and note 3.

² My italics.

But Dr. Horstmann is the only one who has attempted to study the relations between Caxton and the mss., in the works previously cited. Aspland, in the Holbein Soc. reprint of the *Golden Legend* (London, 1878, p. 35), depends entirely on Blades, but makes the important addition of the Bible to the authorities to be considered in discussing Caxton's sources. Dr. Horstmann in one place goes so far in his claims for the re-discovered mss. as to state that they were "printed by Caxton;" but in his soberer mood he modifies this. Caxton's edition, he says, "rests on this translation, but is distinguished from it by many particulars. . . . As to the text, he (Caxton) does not follow the older translation word for word, but sentence for sentence, frequently abridging." And he now admits the numerous changes by Caxton and additions, from the appendix of the *Legenda*, and from "the two French translations of the *L. A.*;"¹ while "for the English saints he used native sources, apparently the *Southern Legendary*"—which Dr. Horstmann happens to have edited.

A complete reaction from this view is represented in the editor of the Kelmscott *Golden Legend* (1892), Mr. F. S. Ellis. He claims to have discovered the very book in French from which Caxton took nearly the whole of his work, errors and all; this is the printed Vignay in the British Museum. But, unfortunately, Mr. Ellis did not know of the Stowe mss., and certainly had never examined the English mss. whose influence he declares to be *nil*. The text of ms. A. will speak for itself when compared with Caxton, and we shall show later how many things not found in V. (or S.) Caxton added.

It would be out of our province to discuss the mere bibliographical points in connection with Caxton's *Golden Legende*, for which I refer to Blades and Aspland.

The first edition of the *Golden Legende* was a tremendous undertaking for Caxton. Blades says (II, LIX): "The 'magnum opus' of Caxton was undoubtedly the edition of 'The Golden Legend,' 1483. The translation alone of this great work must have been no slight task, while, as to number of leaves (449), and size both of paper and printed page, it far exceeded his edition of 'King Arthur,'

¹ As if C. had used both Belet and Vignay; italics mine. *Atten. Leg., N. F.*, cxxxii f.

which was the next largest" (for the size of the paper, see *ib.*, p. xvii). (II, p. 151) "Woodcuts are used throughout, apparently from the hand of the same Artist who engraved the cuts for the 2nd edition of the 'Chess-Book' (*ib.* LVI). The largest woodcut known to have been used in Caxton's books is the Assembly of Saints, at the beginning of all the editions of the 'Golden Legend'" (this cut is given by Blades, and by Aspland).

Nothing could give a better idea of Caxton's own appreciation of the difficulties of his task than a quotation of his own words. In his second prologue he gives us this charmingly quaint history of his work, and gratefully tells how his Chesterfield did *not* desert him in his hour of need (Blades, I, p. 167): "ANd for as moche as this sayd werke was grete & over chargeable to me taccomplisshe I feryd me in the begynnyng of the translacyon to have contynued it/by cause of the longe tyme of the translacyon/& also in then-prynting of ye same & was in purpose to have lefte it/ ne had it be at thynstaunce & requeste of the puyssant noble & vertuous erle my lord wylliam erle of arondel/which desyred me to procede & contynue the said werke/& promysed me to take a resonable quātyte of them when they were achyeued & accomplished/and sente to me a worshypful gentylman a seruaunte of his named Johan Stanney, whych solycyted me in my Lordes name that I shold in no wyse leue it but accomplisshe it, promysing that my sayd lord shold duryng my lyf yeue & graunte to me a yerely fee/that is to wete a bucke in sommer/& a doo in wynter"/

And having persevered in his task and finished it, he joyfully adds this epilogue, which, like the first prologue, is adapted from Jean de Vignay: "Thus endeth the legende named in latyn legenda aurea, that is to say in englysshe the golden legende, For lyke as gold passeth in vālewe alle other metalles so thys legende exceedeth alle other bookes: wherin ben conteyned all the hygh & grete festys of our lord, the festys of our blessed lady, the lyues passyons & myracles of many other sayntes, & other hystories & actes, as al allonge here afore is made mencyon. Whiche werke I have accomplished at the commaundemente & requeste of the noble & puyssaunte erle & my special good lord Wylliam erle of arondel, & have fynysshed it at westmestre the twenty day of nouembre the yere of our lord MCCCCLXXXIII, & the fyrst yere of the reygne of Kyng Rychard the thyrd—By me Wylliam Caxton."

Caxton himself, we see, alludes not only to the greatness of the task but also to the "longe tyme of the translacion." Some hint of the length of time he devoted to the composition of the work may be gathered from his allusion in the "Proheme" of his edition of the *Polychronicon*, 1482 (Blades, I, 193, and 265): "Thenne syth historie is so precious & also prouffitable I haue delybered to wryte twoo bookes notable/retenyng in them many noble historyes/as the lyues/myracles/passyons and deth of dyuerse hooly sayntes whiche shall be comprysed by thayde and suffraunce of almyghty god in one of them/whiche is named legenda aurea/that is the golden legende/ And that other book is named polycronicon/ after the composynge & gaderynge of dan Ranulp monke of chestre fyrste auctour of this book/and afterward englissed by one Treuissa vycarye of barkley/ And now at this tyme symply empynted . . . by me William Caxton and a lytel embelysshed fro tholde makynge/."

These last words are of special significance for us. The editor of Higden's *Polychronicon* in the Rolls Series (1865), comments on them and on the later added sentence:¹ "and somewhat (I) haue chaunged the rude and old englyssh, that is to wete certayn wordes which in these dayes be neither vsyd ne vnderstanden." His changes, says the editor (p. LXIII of *Introd.*), are so great that "a minute collation of (his) text . . . with that of the MSS. used for the present edition is well-nigh impossible." A list of words in Trevisa's text which Caxton apparently considered too archaic for his use is given: "But besides these noteworthy (verbal) changes by Caxton there are likewise many others where a clause or even the greater part of a sentence has been re-cast more in accordance, it must be presumed, with the phraseology of his own day." Blades, too (II, p. 125), gives a sample of Caxton's "embellishments" of the *Polychronicon*, which, he says, "chiefly consist in modernising the old English; although here and there Caxton added sentences to the text." Indeed, as a writer in the *Christian Remembrancer* says (quoted in *Polycron.*, R. S. ed.), "Caxton exercised the part of editor of his various publications," and edited them with the greatest freedom. Many instances might, no doubt, be cited, in-

¹In his *Epilogue* to lib. VII, Blades, II, 195; italics above mine, as always unless otherwise specified.

cluding his *Chaucer* and *King Arthur*, though he does profess to follow his ms. here as closely as might be. Blades calls attention to such traces of added sentences, added without any indication that they were not in the text, in the *Game of the Chess*, Bk. III, 3, Bk. IV, 1, and in the *Dictes of the Philosophers* (an acknowledged addition), see Blades I, 136, and 144.¹

Here we must digress a moment to note that the *Golden Legend* was not the only work of the kind published by Caxton. On "the laste day of Juyn Anno domini M. CCCC. LXXX III" he had finished printing the *Liber Festivalis*, or *Festial* of John Mirkus, which the latter says he has "drawe . . . owt of legenda aurea, w^t more addyng to." How much Caxton altered this in editing it I do not know. It is certain that, as it now stands, even the saints it has in common with our *Legenda* (there are few additions) are generally treated very freely, so that it cannot be considered a translation. Those that seemed most like the *Legenda* were *Sts. John* and *George*. On the whole, cf. Blades, II, p. 134. There is much legendary matter, too, in Caxton's *Chronicles of England*, 1480. We find *St. Austyn*, *Ursula*, *Edmond the King*, *Edward the Confessor*, etc.; but after carefully comparing these with Caxton's *Golden Legend* I cannot find any certain cases of borrowing, except, perhaps, in the case of *St. Austyn*, to which we shall refer again. In the *Mirroure of the World*, 1480, there are some extraordinary tales, and passages remind us of the above mentioned legend of *St. Michael*; but this is not in any sense a legendary. But the great *Polyronicon* is chokefull of legendary matter, on which Caxton did not hesitate to draw.

We see, then, that Caxton had opportunities for becoming familiar with the legends of the saints, and need not be surprised when we find him making a thoroughly new and, to his notion, accurate *Golden Legend* out of the materials at hand. The most distinctive feature about Caxton's *Golden Legend* is the addition of so large a number of "Bible stories," including *Adam*, *Noah*, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Jacob*, *Esau*, *Joseph*, *Moses*, *Joshua*, *Samuel*, *Saul*, *David*, *Solomon*, *Rehoboam*, *Job*, *Tobit*, and *Judith*. He divides them into fourteen chapters; a fifteenth, containing the *Ten Commandments*, is really part of *Moses*, and only in small part based on de Vignay's (ms.

¹ See, too, Miss Smith's *Brome Commonplace Book*, p. 12, n.

S. and V.) *Dix Commandements*; the whole series extends from p. 105 to p. 244 of the Kelmscott edition. And these considerable additions furnish most interesting examples of Caxton's methods. Indeed, as Aspland says (p. 35 fol.), this portion of Caxton's *Golden Legend* is little more than a disguised version of the Bible. He dared not publish the Bible as such, for that would smell of Wycliff and rank Lollardy, and Caxton had no ambition to stir up the powers that were in Church or State; but he evaded the vigilance of the laws by inserting Bible stories in his *Golden Legend*. Indeed, "the Golden Legend of Caxton was included in the list of Bibles at the Caxton celebration (1877), 'because,' says Mr. Henry Stevens, who had charge of that department, 'it contains a translation into English of nearly the whole of the Pentateuch, and a great part of the Gospels.' . . . It was, no doubt, read in churches, and though the text is mixed with much priestly gloss and dross, it nevertheless contains, in almost a literal translation, a great portion of the Bible; and it became thus one of the principal instruments in preparing the way for the Reformation. . . . The modifications and changes of the text and form of the Golden Legend is a theme worthy the bibliographer."

We should go very far astray, however, in assuming that Caxton depended on the canon for his Bible tales. In the very first one, *Adam*, we find him, on the second page (Kelmscott, 106), already weaving in with his story threads not from Genesis, incidents such as are found in the numerous *Lives of Adam*, of which we get a sample in our mss., in Douce ms. 15, in Rawlinson ms. C. 499, in ms. Queens Col. Ox. 213 (see Horstmann, in Herrig's *Archiv.*, vol. 79, pp. 459, 465, 499).¹ And this is not all; for it looks very much as if Caxton had used again the material found in his *Poly-cronicon*. We cannot here adduce the parallels in full: they are easily verified, and I shall merely ask those that doubt to compare

¹ A writer in *Book Lore*, III, (1888), p. 65, comments on Caxton's "they toke figge lewis and sewed them togyder . . . in maner of brechis," which, he says, "shows that the Genevan version is not . . . the originator of this quaint phrase." One will find the "breeches" in Harl. 4775, f. 259; Douce 372, f. 157 b.; Douce 15, f. 18 b., etc. Cf. the *Historia Scholastica*, I, cap. 23 (Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* 198, col. 1073): "*Tunc fecerunt sibi perisomata (Gen. III), id est succinctoria, quasi bracas breves, ut campestris.*" For Lamech, cf. *ibid.*, col. 1079.

the latter portions of Caxton's *Adam* with *Polychronicon*, Bk. II, cap. 5 (in R. S. ed., vol. II, pp. 225 f.). A striking instance here is the story of *Lamech* (*ibid.* p. 229); and another, in which Caxton introduces greater changes, is in the chronology he gives for Creation and the Flood, cf. *Polyc.*, p. 237; and Caxton's brief note regarding *Nembroth* (= *Nimrod*) seems based on *Polycr.*, p. 249–51. Thus throughout *Adam* and *Noah* we find non-Biblical notes, many of which could most easily have come from the *Polychronicon*. In *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Joseph*, he seems to have contented himself with a rather free paraphrase of the Bible; at least I have not, in a cursory examination, discovered anything essentially apocryphal. But we must be ever on the alert for a return to such sources. For in *Moses*, for example, before we get through two pages we find two references to Josephus, with stories about the infant prophet which might again come from the *Polychronicon* (cf. p. 319 f.). And a capital example of his method must be noted in *David* (*Gold. Leg.*, K. P., p. 206): "Dauid dide grete penaunce for thyse synnes of aduoultrye and also of homycyde. For as I ones was by yonde the see rydyng in the companye of a noble knyght named Syr Johan Capons, and was also doctour in bothe lawes, and was born in mal-yorke, . . . and that tyme Counceyllour vnto the duc of bourgonye, Charloys, it happend we comened of the hystorye of Dauid, and this said noble man told me that he had redde that dauid dyde this penaunce folowyng for thyse said synnes . . . (*I omit the anecdote*). Thus thys noble man told me, rydyng bytwene the toun of Gaunt in Flaundres & the toun of Bruxellis in Braband." Similarly, in *Solomon*, at the end (p. 217): "It is said, *but I fynde it not in the byble*, that Salamon repentyd hym moche of thys synne of ydolatrie," etc.

But what has been cited is surely sufficient proof. There are apocryphal elements in *Samuel*, in *Job*, etc., and both *Tobit* and *Judith* are, of course, based on *Apocrypha*, being also very little abridged.

Returning to the *Legenda* proper, we find Caxton not only adapting the prologue, but conforming to the general plan of ms. S. (and V.). A detailed comparison of the mere order would only waste time. Caxton agrees with the French in the order and content of his first 14 chapters. After this we find not only changes of

order but insertions of new material; so heedless is he of what Mr. Ellis (*K. P. Gold. Leg.*, p. 1203) is pleased to consider his original that he makes the *Historye of the Masse*, and the *Twelve Articles* the last instead of among the first in his book.

In addition to the Bible stories we find the following 20 legends in Caxton which are not in his legitimate Latin or French texts: (1) *Cuthbert*; (2) *Alphey*; (3) *Dunston*; (4) *Aldhelme*; (5) *Austyn in England*; (6) *Edward kyng*; (7) *Albon*; (8) *Swythyn*; (9) *Translation of Becket*; (10) *Kenelme*; (11) *Rocke*; (12) *Edward Confessor*; (13) *Wenefrede*; (14) *Edmond Bishop*; (15) *Edmond kyng*; (16) *Hugh*; (17) *Dorathe*; (18) *Bede*; (19) *Brandan*; (20) *Erkenwolde*. These are merely such additional legends as the titles alone would indicate as new; others are practically new, as we shall indicate. It would be too tedious a story to discuss the sources of all these legends, for we could not be absolutely sure of our judgment without rather minute comparisons between Caxton and the numerous preceding legendaries. I have positive evidence that for Nos. 1, 3, 4, 8, 10, and 19, he used the English version of MS. A. After a close comparison, I believe he used also the *St. Albon* found in that MS. and others. And certain points to be mentioned make it almost certain that No. 5 came also from A., the portions of the MS. containing it being now lost. His life of *Becket* is certainly indebted to the version in A., and therefore we may guess that No. 9 also was drawn thence. So much for the additions for which we are perfectly safe in claiming the English MSS. as sources. Here is the evidence for believing that Caxton's first chapter on *St. Austyn* (*that brought crystendom into Englonde*, K. P. p. 499) was derived from a lost chapter in A.

Caxton's first chapter on *St. Austyn* is quite distinct from the *Legenda*, p. 548. It occurs just after *Dunston* and *Aldelme*, which are both from Add. MS., where there is an unfortunate gap of eight leaves just before the *Dunston*. Caxton, at the close of his legend, says (p. 505): "And god hath shewed so many myracles in that holy place for his blessyd saynt, saynt Austyn, *that yf I shold al wryte them here it shold occupye a grete book.*" The second chapter on *Austyn* (p. 778) is a translation of the *Legenda*, as it is also in all MSS., but neither in Caxton nor in the English MSS. is it a complete translation. All end with the miracle at the top of *Leg.* p.

563; whereas the French versions (cf. V. fol. 252 b., Vr. fol. 234) are complete, end just as in the Latin, and omit the words to be noted below. All the Eng. versions end with these words, with which I parallel Caxton's statement on p. 791 (cf. A. fol. CLXV; E. fol. 211; H. fol. 157; D. fol. 103; h. fol. 265; cited from A., with small unnoted emendations):

CAXTON.

Many other myracles hath god shewed by his lyf & also after his deth whiche were ouer longe to wryte in this booke, for they wold I suppose conteyne a book as moche as al this & more, but *amonge other correction* I wylle sette here in one myracle whiche I haue sene paynted on an aulter of saynt Austyn at the blacke Freres at Andwerpe, how be it I fynde hit not in the legende myn exampler, *neyther in Englysshe, Frensshe, ne in latyn.*

MSS.

Many a noble and glorious miracles this holy seint dide by the goodenes of oure lorde, yn his lyf and after his dethe, whiche were to long to be wrettyyn yn this littyl volome, for hit conteyneth more than alle this boke; *wherefore I leue att this tyme*, and recomaunde us to his preyers that for the loue of god was of so gret perfection that he dispised alle riches lordschipes and refusid alle worschipes. he drede delites, and that schulde they clerly fynde that list to rede his deuoute writtynges.

Caxton's new miracle, which he did not find in any of his originals—note the order in which they are named—does not concern us here; but we may note that, as in the case of the *David*, his words indicate his method of composition. The similarity, or even identity, of the expressions in this note in Caxton and the MSS. (it occurs in neither Vignay nor Belet French) is so marked that I need not comment on it. And the MSS. words, *I leue att this tyme*, certainly bear out my suggestion that the English MS. version once contained a second *Austyn*, from which Caxton borrowed with the freedom peculiar to him when the MSS. were his sole authority. I therefore feel justified in claiming that in both of his chapters on *Austyn* Caxton is indebted to the MSS.

Caxton has two chapters on *St. Germaine* (pp. 505–510, and 665–669); these are, so far as the story goes, duplicates. It is, therefore, only on circumstantial evidence obtained by minute comparison that I have determined that in the first *Germaine* Caxton used the MSS., though probably correcting as usual, while in the second he used the French. One point will serve to indicate the nature of the evidence. The Lat. (p. 448) *arborem quandam pinum*

in media civitate habebat, is rendered in the MSS., "he had a peyme appell in the myddys of the Cite" (cf. A. fol. 145 b.; E. fol. 175 b.; H. fol. 133; and h. fol. 219 b.). Caxton has first (p. 506), "a tree callyd a pynapple tree," but later (p. 665), "a tre whiche was a pyn;" with which cf. Vignay (V. fol. 207, practically same in Vr. fol. 188), "il auoit ou millieu de la cite ung arbre qui estoit ung pin."

Certain words in the portion from the *Donston*, to be given below, when coupled with Caxton's omission of some details there given and his explanation of the omission (p. 497, "as ye shal fynde more playnly of thys matere in the lyf of saynt Oswolde"), lead me to conclude not only that the MSS. once had a life *St. Oswolde*, but that Caxton had planned to include this too in his additions.

We have one more legend to name for which Caxton, departing from his Latin and French, drew on the Eng. MSS. This is the *St. Katheryne*, the opening words of which as given above (p. 70) may be compared with Caxton, p. 1097. And this closes the list of legends for which we have more or less positive evidence that Caxton used the MSS. The field of conjecture, in view of the incomplete condition of the MSS., and of MS. A. in particular, is not, however, altogether forbidden ground to us. I believe the remaining English saints also came from our MSS. These are all of those mentioned above except No. 11, *Rocke*, and No. 17, *Dorathe*. The latter is one of the saints in the additions to the *Legenda* (p. 910), and Caxton's version seems to derive thence. The former is also in the *Legenda* (p. 933); but Caxton's version manifestly does not come from this much compressed form; at the end of it he states (p. 756): "The fest of saynt Rock is . . . translated oute of latyn in to Englysshe by me William Caxton." What Latin original he used I have not yet been able to discover. The note is interesting to us as it stands, however, even without tracing his original. No. 18, *Bede*, is not at all the same as the life given as an episode in *Leg.* p. 833, though some of the incidents are the same.

Capgrave's *Nova Legenda Anglie* has been rather confidently assumed as the source of some of Caxton's English saints. I am not in a position to assert positively that he does not use this, as I have not yet been able to compare most of the legends. But with one legend I have made a careful comparison. *St. Erkenwolde*

(Apr. 29th) will be found in the Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum*, vol. XII, 789–96, Capgrave's version being given. It is far longer than Caxton's version, and there are some differences in order; and there is nothing in Caxton which might not have come from it, if we except the opening paragraph. There Erkenwolde's sister is called *alburgh*, which after hir baptesme was named *ethelburga*. The Latin has no such name, having simply: *Ethelburga soror ejus; imposito sibi nomine Ethelburga, ut tamquam rosa de rhamnis, fidelis de fidelibus, electa virgo procederet, odorem sanctitatis posteris allatura*. So that, whether Caxton used Capgrave or not, he certainly made additions from some other source (cf. *Alleng. Leg.*, N. F., p. 527–8).

Caxton's *Winifred*, again, does not base on what would seem the most natural source, John Mirkus's *Festial*, but probably on a Latin original (as does his later and fuller life of her, 1484–5), unless we claim this also for the Eng. MSS. (see Blades, II, 175; better in ed. 1882, p. 303; and *Alleng. Leg.*, N. F., CXI; *Anglia* III, pp. 293 f. and 314 f.).

If we are to suppose a use of Capgrave's Latin for these un-traced English legends, we must never lose sight of Caxton's tendency to revert to the *Polychronicon* and other extraneous sources. Many parts of *Edward Confessor* might most naturally derive from *Polychronicon*. And if Caxton did translate from Capgrave, it is curious that there is no mention of his name in all these legends, and no statement such as that in *St. Rocke*. For in the one legend wherein Caxton, departing from the *Legenda*, does depend largely on a well-known authority, he gives a reference.

In the second paragraph of his *St. Patrick* Caxton refers to "chester," "polycronicon, the fourth booke, the xxix chapytre,"¹ where we find: "seynt patrik in this time was born. his fader hete calprun, whiche was a preest and a dekenes sone that heyte fodun. patrikes moder hete conches, martyns suster of gallia, that is fraunce. In his crystenynge he was called sucat. And seint german called hym magonius. And celestinus the pope callyd hym Patryk, that is to saye, fader of cyteseyns." Much more might be added (see *Polycron.* I, cap. 34; V., caps. 4 and 23); in fact all the

¹ The K. P. ed. misprints, xxiv chapytre; but C's first ed. has it right, fol. 145. I quote from C's ed.; cf. R. S. v, 187.

latter portions of Caxton's *Patrick* are derived from it, the parallels being sometimes almost verbal, and considerably closer in Caxton's ed. than in the R. S. text of the *Polychronicon*.

As hinted in the notes on D. ms. (p. 57), Caxton adds a paragraph, probably of his own knowledge, to the *St. George*, alluding to the Order of the Garter, etc. And Professor Kölbing believes that Caxton's *Caecilia* has reminiscences of Chaucer: "At the time of the publication of the *Golden Legend*, 1483, Caxton had not only read Chaucer's *Caecilia* legend, but was so thoroughly familiar with it that in many places the very words of the master flowed quite unconsciously from his pen."¹ It is most unfortunate that I did not make a close comparison of C.'s text with that of the mss.; hence I am unable to say how far these statements ought to be modified.

For five of his legends Caxton depended on the Latin, rather than on his English or French sources. These are: *Gordian* (Lat. p. 337); *Pernelle* (343); *Quirynne* (= *Quiricus*, 351); *Maryne* (353); and *Theodora* (397). The first of these is far longer in S. (or V.). The second as given in S. (or V.) deals really with *Felicula*, and is not at all like Caxton, or the Latin, or the Eng. mss.; both *Gordian* and *Pernelle* are properly given in older Vignay texts (e. g. *Va.*, fol. 124 b., and fol. 123 b.), but I have reason for feeling sure that Caxton used the Latin. S. (or V.) omits *Quirynne*, *Maryne*, and *Theodora*, which are also found in other Vignay texts, and in the Eng. mss.; but I am again, reluctantly, led to admit that Caxton preferred the Latin, though doubtless referring to the previous Eng. version.

Nothing, perhaps, could better show Caxton's careful work in the endeavor to write "one (book) out of the said three books" than his treatment of Voragine's etymologies.

CHAPTER IV. THE ETYMOLOGIES.

Those "*etymologias perversissimas, quibus maxime claudicat Jacobus noster*" are spoken of in Echard's sketch (*loc. cit.*) as if originated by Voragine: "*Praefationes cuilibet vitae a Jacobo additae*,

¹ *Englische Studien*, I, 247; Caxton's and Vignay's text publ. by Chaucer Soc., ed. Furnivall, 1875, 2nd series, No. 10, p. 207; cf. Lounsbury, *Chaucer Studies*, 1892, II, p. 321.

quae fere in nomine sancti lusus sunt, palato hujus seculi saniori non placent, sed is erat seculi XIII et sequentium gustus," etc. Long before Echard's time had the etymologies been criticised. They are collected, merely as linguistic curiosities, in a *Calendarium Etymologicum ex Lombardica Historia Jacobi de Voragine*, in Schellhorn's *Amoenitates Literariae*, vol. XI, 324 f. (Frankfort and Leipzig, 1725 f., and 1730 f.), where we are told that "*debetur hoc (sc. calendarium) Erasmo Schmidio, Viro de Graecis praesertim literis praeclare merito, qui id typis excudendum curavit Willebergae 1604.*"¹ This very curious little volume—I have never seen the one on which it professes to be based—gives merely the etymologies, in their order, without comment or elucidation. Jacobus, of course, was neither the first nor the last to indulge in such etymologies: I need scarcely refer to the well known work of Isidorus Hispalensis (see Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, vols. 82 and 83; see also, *Etymologiarum Libri XX*, ed. Otto, Leipzig, 1833). But I have not yet discovered any very close parallels in Isidore, though the principle is the same. Certain things in Hugo de St. Victor are even more in Voragine's style; this gem, for example, could hardly be surpassed by Jacobus at his best: "*Mors dicta, quod sit amara, vel a marte, qui effector est mortium, sive a morsu primi hominis, qui vetulae arboris pomum mordens mortem incurrit*"! (*Patrol. Lat.* 177, col. 132). But nowhere have I seen such etymologies as Voragine's systematically prefixed to saints' lives. Many of them, like the one quoted from St. Victor, are almost too ludicrous to be taken seriously, and are not less far-fetched than Swift's burlesques: "*Pygmalion was a person of very low stature, but great valour, which made his townsmen call him Pigmy lion: and so it should be spelt,*" etc.; and "*Isaac is nothing else but Eyes ake; because the talmudists report that he had a pain in his eyes. Vide Ben Gouion and the targum on Genesis.*"

It is evident enough where Voragine got the idea of his etymologies, as such attempts are common enough in the works to which he had recourse, though not as fully developed as in the *Legenda*. But what chiefly concerns us at present is the reappearance of the etymologies in the French of Vignay and the English of Caxton. Not only do Vignay (I here include all forms of his version) and

¹ Schellhorn, too, calls Voragine "*ferrei oris & plumbei pectoris Vir.*"

Caxton give translations of those found in the Latin, but they add a goodly number, sometimes to non-*Legenda* stories, sometimes to those which are given in Graesse's text without etymologies. The following tables give the additions. In the first table I give all those legends which have no etymologies in Graesse's text, but which are furnished with them in the Vignay versions. Seven of these etymologies are not in V. (or S.), but are in the Vignay MSS.; I have indicated them.

I. LEGENDS TO WHICH THERE ARE FRENCH ETYMOLOGIES.

<i>Leg.</i>	<i>Leg.</i>
177 ... Juliana.	601 ... Gorgonien (<i>Mss.</i>).
202 ... Longin.	602 ... Prothus.
213 ... Patrick.	611 ... Chrysostom (<i>Mss.</i>).
271 ... Marcellin.	639 ... Forseus.
353 ... Marina (<i>Mss.</i>).	660 ... Leger.
367 ... Leo.	674 ... Pelagia.
397 ... Theodora (<i>Mss.</i>).	676 ... Margaret.
442 ... Felix (<i>Mss.</i>).	677 ... Thais.
443 ... Simplician.	686 ... Calixt.
444 ... Martha (<i>Mss.</i>).	700 ... Crissant.
447 ... Abdon.	711 ... Quentin.
486 ... Cyriac (<i>Mss.</i>).	712 ... Eustace.
575 ... Felix.	740 ... Theodorus.
576 ... Savin.	751 ... Brice.
579 ... Lupus.	788 ... Crisogone.
580 ... Mamertin.	797 ... Saturnine.
596 ... Lambert.	803 ... Pastor.
597 ... Adrian.	

The MSS. also give etymologies for the following legends, which have Latin originals but are not reproduced in V.; most of these are found in Caxton, as indicated. In every case here Caxton could have used either the Latin or the French; we shall try to determine later which he did use.

II. ETYMOLOGIES IN MSS. AND LATIN NOT IN V. (OR S.).

<i>Leg.</i>	<i>Leg.</i>
47 ... Anastasia.	501 ... Hippolitus (C.).
108 ... Sebastian (C.).	527 ... Bernard (C.).
174 ... Vedast.	538 ... Timothy (C.).
337 ... Gordian.	636 ... Cosme (C.).
351 ... Quiricus.	659 ... Remy (C.).
417 ... Apollinaris (C.).	771 ... Caecilia (C.).
419 ... Cristine (C.).	777 ... Clement (C.).
483 ... Sixtus (C.).	

Caxton does not translate all the etymologies (four instances of such omissions are to be seen in table II, and several more may be added, as *Secundus*, *Marcellin*, *Leo*, etc.). The only one added by the revised Vignay (V., not included in table) is that for the non-*Legenda* story of *Aubin*, on fol. 440, at the end, instead of at the head of the chapter. This Caxton does not translate. But Caxton does give etymologies for two legends for which I have seen no original, in Latin or French; he either originated them or had a different Latin text: these are *St. Paul* (Lat. p. 133) and *St. Petronella* (p. 343). It seems the more probable view to assume that he had some original for them. We have left eleven legends (in table II) whose etymologies Caxton got either from the French mss. or from the Latin, and one more, *St. Felix Pope* (Lat. p. 442), which differs markedly from the French ms. version (see I). Let us examine these twelve etymologies, for the purpose of discovering whether Caxton knew these Vignay mss. or relied on his Latin text.

(1) *Sebastian*. Caxton gives all but the last sentence of the Lat. (p. 108), whereas the mss. translate the whole (Va. fol. 40); there is nothing decisive against C. < French, but it seems more probable that if this had been the case he would have translated the whole.

(2) *Apollinaris*. The version in the mss. (Va. fol. 151; Vr. f. 174 b.) has for the second sentence of the Lat. (417): "ou il est die de appollo, cest adire merueilleux, & denaus (*sic*; Vr. de naris), qui est discrecion," etc. Caxton is slightly more accurate.

(3) *Cristine*. Va. f. 152; Vr. f. 176: "Cristine est dite (Vr. a dire) au tant cōme ointe de cresseme. Elle ot baptesme (*erased*; Vr. le basme) le blasme (*sic*) de bōne oudeur en conuersacion & luille de deuocion en sa pēsee, & la beneicon de gloire." Caxton's looks like a direct translation from the Lat., except his last phrase, "benedyction of grace," which does not fit any of the texts before us.

(4) *Sixtus*. Va. f. 174 b. Nothing decisive either way, especially as both are evidently based on a text somewhat different from Lat. 483.

(5) *Hippolitus*. Va. f. 181; Vr. f. 209: "Ipolite est dit de yper, qui vaut autant cōme desus, & de liquos,¹ qui est adire pierre," etc. The absence of this error in Caxton, and the omission of an

¹The italics are mine.

equivalent for *id est Christum* in the French, make it almost certain that Caxton here uses the Latin.

(6) *Bernard*. Va. f. 190 b.; Vr. f. 220 b. Here, too, the omission by the French of the reference to what Caxton calls "the glose uppon cantica" (= Lat. 527, *Glossa super cantica*) shows use of the Latin.

(7) *Timothy*. Va. f. 194; Vr. f. 224 b. Where the French translates the whole (Lat. p. 538), garbling the first sentence, Caxton gives merely a correct version of this first sentence. The French has: "Tymothee est autant adire cōme tenant paour (Vr. pouour), ou cōme paour (pouour) de dieu. & si cōme s. gregoire dit (gregoire s. dist)," etc.

(8) *Cosme & Damien*. Va. f. 228 b; Vr. f. 266. The French is differently ordered, but aside from this there is no essential difference; the French agrees with Lat. (636) in reading *damum*, Caxton following "later editions" (Graesse's note) with *daminum*, but agreeing with the Latin in order: the latter should be his original. Here is a portion of the French: "Damien est dit de dama, une beste humble & soueue. Ou il est dit de dogma, cest doctrine, & de ana, qui est adire haut. ou de damum, qui est adire sacrefice. Quar il ot debonnairete en conuersacion & ensaigna doctrine souueraine en sa predicacion. il fu sacrefice en ameigrisant sa char. Ou damien est dit aussi cōme de dieu main. Quar il fu main de dieu en cure de medecine."

(9) *Remy*. Va. f. 236 b.; Vr. f. 276. "Remi est de remige, qui vaut autant cōme gouuerneur de nef. Ou il est dit de remis, auirons par les quelz la nef est menee (Vr. muee), & de gion, qui est adire estrif. Il gouuernna leglise & mena a droit port par mi le peril de noier, et estriua pour ycelle contre les agues (Vr. agnes) du dyable." Caxton's closer adherence to the order of the Latin (p. 659), his rendering of *eam duxit ad portum paradisi*, = *brought it to the porte of heuen*, and of *insidias* = *assaults*, not *wiles*, or *snares* (*agues*), show again that he translated directly.

(10) *Caecilia*.¹ Va. f. 274 b.; Vr. f. 320 b. Although certain phrases [such as: *virginitatis pudorem* = (French) *pure virginite*

¹ The *Ste. Cecile* in Chaucer Soc., 2d ser., No. 10, p. 193, is from a text printed at Paris, 1513, and gives an etymology. The phrasing is somewhat different from that in our texts.

= *clennes of vyrgynyte*; and *candorem munditiae* = *blancheur de nettele* = *whytenes of clenness*] seem significant, the omission in the French of the sentence about Ysidorus, which Caxton has, is proof enough that he used the Latin.

(11) *Clement*. Va. f. 277; Vr. f. 322 b. Both Caxton and the French omit the portion from Augustine (p. 777). The omission of the name *Itinerarye* in the following passage is again enough evidence, to say nothing of the different rendering of the last sentence: "Il inseria sa vie li meismes en ·i· sien liuret meismement iusques a cestui lieu ou il fu demonstre estre successeur s. pierre. Et ces autres choses sont prises en ses fais, qui sont communement eus."

(12) *Felix* (p. 442). Va. f. 160; Vr. f. 185. This is the only one of the list for which there is no Latin original in Graesse. All the French versions (Va., Vr., and V.) give an etymology for the third *Felix* (p. 575), which I shall also give. The present one (MSS.) is: "Felix vaut autant adire cme souffrant tenchon; quar il souffri noise & tenchon et fu enuoie en essil pour ce quil condampna leresie arrienne. ou felix vault au tant adire cme beneure; quar il fu beneure par glorieux martire." Now the etymology for the other *Felix* (575) is on the same lines, but sufficiently different (V. f. 257 b.; Va. f. 207; Vr. f. 239): "Felix est dit de fero, fers, cest adire porter, et de lis, litis, tenchon / & vault autant a dire felix comme portant tenchon / car il porta tenchon pour la foy de nostre seigneur ihesu crist (MSS. foy de dieu, *only*) / contre tous les mescreans (mescroians) et les ydolles (Vr. ydolastres), et les destruisist toutes par son souffler." These two seem to me to settle the matter; for while Caxton gives a translation of the latter, as found in the printed V. and in Stowe MS., his etymology for *Felix the Pope* is entirely different from that given above from MSS. Va. and Vr. We are justified in concluding that Caxton used only the later form of the Vignay French.

Two legends not found in V. (or S.) but found in the MSS. and Caxton also support this view. In *Quiricus* (p. 351), which is omitted in V., the MSS. (Va. fol. 126 b.) give not only the legend but the etymology, which Caxton omits. It is very probable that he drew the legend from the Eng. MSS., but I can only say that the versions are the same on the surface, as time did not permit of a thorough

collation and comparison. And in *Marine* (353) the French mss. again give an etymology (no Latin original) which is not copied by Caxton; this legend is omitted in V.; the texts given below indicate the Latin as Caxton's probable source. In the case of *Gordian* (337) both Caxton and V. omit the etymology, which is found in mss. (Va. f. 124 b.); but in the legend itself it will be found that Caxton does not follow the longer version given by V. (fol. 385) but that in the Latin and the Eng. mss.

The etymologies are very instructive, giving us many a side glance at Caxton's methods of composition—errors sometimes reproduced quite regardless of sense, sometimes corrected from the Latin, and alternate compression and expansion of his text. His corrections are not, of course, confined to the etymologies. In the *Seven Sleepers* the printed V. has (fol. 199): "Et adont dist le iuge . . . quant il appert en l'escripture quil y a plus de—[blank space, which has been filled in by hand with indistinct figures, apparently · iij · ^{or}] dix et sept ans que elle fut mōnoie." Now Stowe ms. f. 234 has no omission here: "· iij^o & lxxvij ans;" and Vr. f. 183 has: "· ccc · et · lxxvij;" while Caxton has: "more than · iij^o lxxij yere," a date which he could not have taken from the imperfect V.,¹ but evidently from S., the Eng. mss. (see below), or the Latin, with an error of his own. V. (and S., ff. 136 b. and 139 b.) has apparently, as I have noticed before (above, p. 45), two chapters on *Benoit*; but the first of these (fol. 111 b.), to which is blindly prefixed the etymology for *Benoit*, really deals with *St. Maur*. Caxton has corrected this; and further, while the French *Benoit* begins (V. f. 114): "Saint benoit fut enuoie a rome pour estudie / mais tres son enfance," etc., Caxton has, more correctly: "Saynt benet was borne of the prouynce of Nurcia / And was sent to Rome for to studie / but in hys Infancye," etc.

In the etymology of *Vite & Modeste* Caxton and the French had, apparently, a somewhat different text from that in Graesse (p. 350). For *Vite* the V. text has (f. 151): "Vy est dit de (sic). Et saint augustin, ou liure de la cite de dieu, deuise de trois manieres de vie," etc.² Caxton has: "Vyte is sayd of vyta, that is lyf / Saynt austyn,

¹ The reading in V. was, of course, meant to be: "trois cents soizante dix et sept."

² S. f. 183 b.; Va. f. 126; and Vr. f. 145, practically the same, but do not omit *vie*.

in libro de trinitate, deuyseth of thre maners of lyf," etc. He has supplied the omission, and yet differs from V. (or S.), and even from the Latin, in substituting *de trinitate* for *de civitate Dei*. Mr. Ellis's lonesome bit of evidence from the etymology of *Stephen*, to show that Caxton used the printed V., will not stand when we find exactly the same error in S. (51, fol. 25). I quote from V. f. 64 b.; S. is exactly the same: "Estiène est a dire en grec autant cōme courōne / & en hebreu exemple aux autres de souffrir / Ou estiène est aussi cōme noblement et loiaement parlant, enseignant, et gouuernant / cōme amis et saine venue,¹ et il fut depute des apostres a garder les vefues² / adont il fut courōne pour tout le cōmencement de martire / exemple pour lexemple de pacience et de bien viure / noblement parlant pour sa tresnoble predicacion / et bien gouuernant pour le bon enseignement des vefues."

The variants in the Oxford printed version are interesting enough to warrant quoting a portion of it (fol. 17 b.): "Estiène en grec est autant adire en latin cōme corōne, et en hebreu reigle. il fut courōne, cest a dire cōmencement, de martire au nouveau testament; ainsi cōme abel au viel testament. Il fut norme, cest adire exemple ou reigle aux aultres de offrir. ou estiène est dit cōme noblement et loialment parlant et cognoissant;³ et amy des femmes vefues, car il fut depute des apostres a garder les vefues," etc.

In addition to this point from the etymology—Caxton translates *saine venue* by *hole comen*—Mr. Ellis mentions a curious series of mistranslations in the *St. Stephen*. The Vulgate has: *viderunt faciem ejus tanquam faciem angeli*, which Voragine makes: *vultus angelicus qui falsos testes terreret* (so on p. 50; but Mr. Ellis fails to note that, on the next page, in the proper connection, he has almost the exact words: "*videbant faciem ejus tamquam faciem angeli*."). The French version used by Caxton (V. and S.) has: "le vol des anges espoenta les faulx temoignages" = Caxton "the flight of Angellis fered the false witnessys." And another French ms., 15th century, in the possession of Mr. Thomas Brooke, of Huddersfield, which purports to be "translacte par frere iacques

¹ Vr. f. 25 b., and Va. f. 20: cognurent; car anus est fame veuee (might easily be misread venue).

² Vr. and Va. veues; below veuees. I give only the significant variants.

³ Cf. Vr. and Va.

de haultpas de lordre des freres prescheurs," and is a Vignay version, has another reading (same in Vr. f. 26): "le vent de langre qui espaonta les faux temoins." Our English mss. vary; H. f. 14 b. has rendered only the first (*vultus . . . qui terreret*): "the visage of the aungel that ferid the fals witnes." The others give also the second (*videbant . . . angeli*, cf. h., fol. 18; E. f. 11 b.; A. f. 43; only orthographic variants): "And þan al þo þat were in þe Juge-ment segh þe visage of him as þe visage of an angel," with which cf. Vr.: "et donc tous ceulz qui estoient en iugement virent la face de luy aussi cōme la face de ·j· angre" (*sic*). It will be noted that the English mss. have not followed either of the errors in the French. The version of *Estienne* in the Belet mss. is quite unlike the *Legenda*.

One might add indefinitely to the list of Caxton's mistranslations. The V. text (and mss.) etymology of *Juliana* begins (fol. 104): "Juliane fut epousee / et est dicte ainsi comme ardant¹ plainement / car elle saida a plain contre la temptation du diable," etc. The word *ardant* is manifestly a misprint for *aidant*; but Caxton has: "Juliane is as moche to saye as *brennyng* playnly / for she *brente* her self," etc. He has not only an error in the first case but in the second also, evidently due to his reading *sarda* for *saida*. A similar error is found in the etymology of *St. Lowe* (*Lupus*, Lat. 579 has none). V. f. 259 b. has: "Leu est aulcune fois en la iambe dont il lui faut medecine, la quele est une maladie qui rōgne et use la char." Caxton renders *rōgne*, which is indistinct, and might easily be read *regne*, by *regneth*, though just below he translates "*rōgna* sa propre char" by "strayned his propre flesshe."²

V. gives a long etymology for the *Purification*, and embellishes the earlier portion of the legend considerably; and Caxton follows this. The etymology begins (fol. 97): "Post quam impleti sunt dies purgationis marie secundū legem moisi tulerunt ihesū in iherusalem: luce ·ij· capitulo / La ancienne loy auoit son coeur (*sic*) iusques atant que nre seigneur souffrit mort pour nous," etc. The mss. simply follow the Latin (Vr. f. 68; Va. f. 58): "La purificacion de la benoite vierge marie est faite au ·x l· iour apres la natiuite nre seigneur. Et ceste feste," etc. I shall quote a few more of the etymologies merely as samples. We shall begin with *Blaise*,

¹ S. f. 128; Va. f. 64 b.; Vr. f. 75 b. have *aidant*.

² S. f. 314 has *plainly* *rongne*, and *rongna*.

from V. (f. 99) and the mss., from Caxton, who introduces corrections, and the Latin (p. 167), and then *Julian, Basile, Hilary, Alexis*, and *Aubin*, the latter found in V. (S.) alone.

"Ce nom cy blase quant a lethemologie est dit blancq / ou de bella il est dit belasius, qui vault autant a dire que habitue / et fior (*sc. sior*), qui vault autant que petit / et ainsi est il dit blancq par doulceur de ses parolees / et petit par humilite de meurs et de conuersation."—*Vr. fol. 71 b*; *Va. f. 61*. "Blaise¹ est autant adire come souef. ou basile est dist de bala, qui est adire habit, et de syor, qui vaut autant cōme petit. Il fu souef en parole. Il fu habit de vertus, et petit par humilite de bones meurs."—CAXTON: "Blase is as moche to saye as glosyng, or it is sayd as belacius of bela whiche is habyte, and sius whyche is to saye lityl. And thus he is sayd glosyng by the swetenes of hys word, meke by hys habyte of vertues, and lityl by humylyte of maners and of conuersacion."²—*Latin*: "Blasius quasi blandus vel Blasius quasi belasius a bela, quod est habitus, et syor parvulus. Fuit enim blandus per dulcedinem sermonum, habitus per habitus virtutum, parvulus per humilitatem morum."

St. Julian. V. fol. 94.—"Iulien vault autant a dire comme iubilus, chantant / & ana, qui est aidant hault / Et est dit iulien ainsi comme iubilen / car il alla aux haultes et souueraines choses en chantant. Ou il est dit iulius, qui vault autant a dire cōme non sachant, et ami³ cest viel / car il fut viel & au service de dieu long eage; et non sachant selonc ce quil se reputoit."—CAXTON: "Iulien is as moche to saye as jubilus, syngyng, and ana, that is on hye, and therof Julyen as goyng to hye thynges in syngyng. Or it is said Julius, that is as moche to saye as not wyse, & anus, that is old, for he was old in the seruyce of god, & not wyse in reputacion of hym self."—*Latin*: "Julianus quasi jubilus et ana quod est sursum. Inde Julianus quasi Jubilianus, quia cum júbilo superna petiit. Vel a Julius, quod est incipiens, et anus. Nam in Dei servitio fuit senex longanimitate, sed incipiens sui reputatione."

St. Basille. V. fol. 86 b.—"Basille est dit de basis en grec, qui vault autant a dire cōme fondement / & lis, qui est a dire tencon,

¹ In *Va.* the name is here, and in the title, wrongly given as Basille.

² Note how Caxton has combined V. and the Latin.

³ *Vr. fol. 62*, and *Va. f. 52*: anus; other variants slight.

car il fut grant fondement et fonde en doctrine / et osta là tencon dentre les hereges et les cristiens par le sens et la bonne doctrine de luy."¹—CAXTON: "Basille is said of basis in greke, which is as moche to saye as a foundement, and leos, that is peple, for he was foundement of them that wold go to their maker. Or ellis it is sayd of basilico, a serpente, for he ouercam the serpente, enemye of mankynde."

St. Hilaire. V. fol. 65.—"Hilaire est dit de ioieuseté, car il fut ioieulx² ou seruice de dieu / Ou hilaire est dit virtueulx et hault, car il fut hault et en science fort et virtueulx en sa vie³ / Ou hilaire est dit de hisle, qui vault autant a dire comme matere⁴ qui fut obscure / car il eut en ses dis grant obscurte et grant erreur."⁵—*MS. Francois* 1054, fol. 397 b. "*Hilaire est dit Ioieus, Car il fu moult Ioieus el seruice de dieu. Ou hilaire est dit hault et vertueuls, car il fu hault en science et vertueus en vie.*"—CAXTON: "Hylaire is said of joyouste, for he was joyous in the seruyce of god. Or hylaire is said vertuous and hye, for he was hye & stronge in science, and vertuous in hys lyf. Or hylaire is said of yle, whyche is to saye derke mater, for he had in his dictes grete obscurete and profoundnes."⁶—*Latin*: "Hilarius dictus est quasi hilaris, quia in seruitute Dei valde hilaris fuit, vel dicitur Hilarius quasi alarius, ab altus et ares virtus, quia fuit altus in scientia et vertuosus in vita. Vel Hilarius dicitur quasi ab hyle, quod est quasi primordialis materia, quae obscura fuit, et ipse in dictis suis magnam habet obscuritatem et profunditatem."

St. Alexis. V. fol. 436.—"Alexis vault autant a dire cōme yssant de la loy⁷ de mariage pour tenir virginite a dieu. et renoncha du tout a la loy mondaine pour tenir poure te."⁸—CAXTON: "Alexys is as moche to say as goyng oute of the lawe of maryage for to kepe

¹ *Vr. f. 53, and Va. f. 44 b. present practically no variants, except omission of adjs. grant and bonne. Caxton either had an entirely distinct Lat. text—there is no etymol. in Graesse, p. 121—or invented an etymol.*

² *Vr. f. 44, and Va. f. 36 b: moult ioieus.*

³ *MSS. haut en science, vertueuse en sa vie.*

⁴ *MSS. matiere, aussi cōme la premiere matiere qui fu obscure, quar, etc.*

⁵ *MSS. pardeur, meant for parfondeur, as in Vo. fol. 33 b.*

⁶ Note how C. has corrected V.

⁷ *Vr. f. 168 b., and Va. f. 146: loy, que il issi de la loy de mariage pour, etc.*

⁸ *MSS. pourete.*

vyrgynyte for goddes sake, and to renounce alle the pompe and rychesses of the world for to lyue in pouerte.”—*Latin*: “Alexius dicitur ab a, quod est valde, et lexis, quod est sermo: inde Alexius quasi valde in verbo Dei robustus.”¹

St. Aubin. V. fol. 440.—“Selon n̄re langaige albin vault autant a dire celui, primo, qui a blancheur, cest qui est blanc par purete / quia albinus dicitur quasi albus / et celui cy fut tout blanc par purete / secundo, qui a valeur / cest qui a en luy bonte: sic albinus dicitur quasi bonus / Et vraiment celui cy fut bon / tertio, qui tent hault par vigueur, & vole a lespirtualite / sic albinus dicitur alas binas habens / cest assauoir, foy & esperance /”

These gleanings from the etymologies, though the sheaf may well contain more straw than wheat, have not been altogether aimless. The main point was to show that Caxton is full of surprises. When we least expect it we find him alert and active in making corrections. And the purpose of my work will be attained if I shall have succeeded in making future investigators more cautious in asserting that this or that work is the source of Caxton's *Golden Legend*. Not until every legend has been carefully compared with the English mss., with the French, and, last but certainly not least, with the Latin, can we safely and reasonably claim to have unravelled this tangled skein. It is a Joseph's coat of many colors, and the infinite pains with which it was put together by the industrious printer-translator deserves our respect, if not our admiration. The texts which I shall give, while furnishing convincing proofs of Caxton's borrowings—in the case of those from ms. Ad. 11,565, almost word for word—should also give some idea of the intricacy and delicacy of the problem of his sources.

The texts which I shall now give will show more clearly than anything else the nature of Caxton's debt to the previous versions. In the legends from ms. A. we shall find the closest agreement with Caxton; in those from the other mss. it is not so close. The specimen legends from the French versions will show their relations to Caxton and to the mss. But all these points may be better brought out when we have the texts before us.

¹ The French (V.) text disposes of Horstmann's comment (*Alleng. Leg. N. F., loc. cit.*) on C's divergence from the Latin.

CHAPTER V. LEGENDS FROM ENGLISH AND FRENCH
VERSIONS OF THE LEGENDA.

A. ST. CUTHBERT. MS. Add. 11,565, fol. 56 b. (xxxiii).

Here endith the life of seint chadde. And next folowith the life of seint Cuthbert. Seint Cuthbert was bore here in englonde. and whan he was of the age of · viij · yere oure lorde shewid for hym a faire myracle to drawe hym to his loue; for in a tyme as he pleyed atte balle with othir childern sodenly there stode amonges them a feyre yong childe of the age of *thre*¹ yere, that was the feyrest creature that euer thei byhilde. and anone he seid to cuthbert: "goode brother, use no suche veyne pleys, nor set not thi hert on them." But for al that Cuthbert toke none heede to his wordes. And than the childe fille downe to the grounde, and made gret heuenes, and wept ful sore, and wrange his hondes. And then Cuthbert and the other childern lefte ther pley, and confortide this yong childe, & askid hym whi he made so gret sorowe. and then this *childe*² seid to cuthbert: "al my heuynes is only for the, that thou usist suche veyne pleys; ffor oure lorde hath chosyn the to be an hed of holy churche." And then sodenly he vanished away, and therby thei knewe that this childe was an angel of oure lorde sent fro heuene to the confort of his chosyn seruant cuthbert. and anone he left al suche veyne pleyes and neuer more used them aftir, but bygan to leue a ful holy lyfe, and desired of his fader *that*³ he myght be sette to scole. and anone he drewe to goode levying, and was euer in his preyers, bothe nyght and day; & euer he preid to oure lorde that he wolde yeue hym grace to do tho thynges that shulde plesse hym, and to forsake al thynges that shulde displese hym. And he leuyd so holy a life that al peple had gret ioy of hym.

And within a while aftir Aydane the holy bishop dyed. and seint Cuthbert as he kepte shepe in the felde lokyd upwarde and se angels bere the soule of seint Aydan the bishop into heuene with gret melody. And then seint cuthbert aftir that wolde not kepe no

¹ MS. the, corrected in marg. note, cf. *supra*, pp. 65 and 67.

² MS. shilde, cor. in marg.

³ MS. has the.

more shepe, but went anone to the Abbey of Gervaus, and there he made a grey monke (*sic*), wherfore al the couent was glad, and thonkyd oure lorde; for he leued there in gret fastyng and penance. And atte laste he had the gowte in his kne by colde that he toke in knelyng upon the colde stonys when he seid his preyers, that his kne bygan to swelle that the senews of his legge were schronke that he myght not go nor strecche oute his legge. And euer he toke it ful patiently, and seid when it plesid oure lorde it shulde passe away. and within a while aftir his brethern to do hym conforte bare hym into the felde. and there thei met with a knyght that bade them: "let me se and handle this cuthbertes legge." and then when he had felyd hit with his bondes he bade them take the mylke of a cowe of on coloure, and Juse of smale planteyn, and feyre whete floure, and sethe them al togyder, and ley hit therto hote like a plauster, and it wol make hym holle. and anone he was made parfite holle. and then he thonkyd oure lorde ful mekely, and knewe wel anone aftir that it was an angel sent fro heuene to hele hym of his¹ gret sikenes and disese, by the purviance of god.

And than the abbot of that place was right glad of his recoueryng, and sent hym to a celle of thers to be hosteler there to receyue in gestis and do them conforte. and sone aftir oure lorde shewid there a fayre myracle for his *seruaunt* seint Cuthbert. for angels come to hym thider ofte tymes in likenes of othir gestys, and he wolde *serue* hem ful diligently with mete, drynke, and al othir necessaryes; and went oute to the bakhowse for to fecche them hote bred; but ar he come ayene his *gestys* were al gon, and no mete ete at al. & that same tyme was a gret snowe, and then he lokyd to se by ther fete what wey thei went; but he cowde se no steppe of them; wherfore he had gret merueyle. and as he sought aboute he come by a chambre where he smylled an heueneley sauour, and went in and founde a table spred, with mete and drynke thereon. and then he sat downe atte seid table and ete and dranke and made ful mery, and thonkyd oure lorde of his gret goodenes to sende hym suche *gestys*, whiche were his holy angels sent fro heuene to his confort.

And euery nyght when his brethern were a-bed he wolde go into the colde water al naked, and stonde therin up to the chyn till it were mydnyght, and then he wolde go out. and when he come to

¹ MS. of his *bis*.

londe he myght not stonde; for he was so feble that ofte tyme he fil downe to the grounde. and o tyme as he lay this come ·ij· otyrs and liked euery place of his body, and then went ayen to the see that thei come fro. And then seint Cuthbert rose up al holle and went to his celle ayene, and rose up to matyns like as his brethern dide. but his brethern knewe no thyng of his stondyng this euery nyght in the se up to the chyn. But atte laste on of his brethern aspied and knewe of his doynge, and tolde therof; but he chargid hym to kepe his consel while he leued.

And then within a while aftir died the bishop of derham, and seint Cuthbert was made bishop aftir hym. And then euer aftir he leued a ful holy lyfe, and brought muche peple to goode leuyng by his holy prechyng and goode ensample yeuyng. And aftir his deth he was translatid and put into a worshipful shryne in the towne of derham, where oure lorde shewith many a gret myracle for his holy seruaunt seint Cuthbert: wherfore oure lorde be preysed, worlde withoute ende, amen. Here endith the life of seint Cuthbert. and next folowid the life of seint feith.

B. ST. ALDELME. Fol. XXIX b.

Seint Aldelme the confessor was bore in Englonde. his fader hyght kenton; he was the kynges brother of this londe that was clepid yve (*sic*). And when the king was dede this kenton was made kyng aftir hym. And than this holy childe aldelme was sette to scole in the howse of malmysbury, where he was made aftirwarde Abbot. And than he dide there gret coste in bildyng, & dide there make a ful rial abbey. And when the pope herde of his gret holynes he sent for hym to come to Rome. And than the pope made ful muche of hym atte his comyng, and long tyme he dwellid there with the pope, and gette ful gret priueleges to the howse of malmysbury: that no bishop of englond shulde haue a-do there, nor the kyng neyther to lette them of ther fre election, but for to chese ther abbot amonges them self. And when he had gete al these pryuelages of the pope he was ful glad and ioyful. and he leued there many yere in ful holy leuyng. And than in a day as he seid messe in the churche of seint Johā latrans, And when the masse was done ther wolde no man take his vestyment fro hym, and

than he se the sonne bême shyne in at an hole in the glas wyndowe, and he hyng his Chesiple theron, that al men myght se this gret miracle. And the same Chesiple is yet atte malmysbury; the coloure therof is purpul.

And within a while aftir he come into englonde ayen, and brought with hym ful gret pryueleges under the popis seal of ledde. and whan he come to the kynge yve and to athelrede thei confermyd al that the pope had grauntide to his howse of malmysbury. this was the yere of oure lorde · vij · & · vj. And than ther was a gret variaunce among the bishops of this londe for the holdyng of Ester day. But he made a boke that al men shulde knowe foreuer when Ester day shal be, the whiche boke is yet atte malmysbury. And this Abbey he foundydde in the worship of oure lady. And brightwolde, that was than erchebishop of canturbury, herde of aldelmes holy lyuyng, and sent for hym to be his conseylour. and there thei leued togider many a day in ful holy life, and ful ioyful were eyther of othir. And on a day as they were on the see syde by douer ther seyled a ship with marchandise not fer fro the londe. And than saint Aldelme clepid to them to wete if thei had any ornament thet longith to holy church within the ship for to selle. But the marchauntys had skorne of hym, and thought he was not of power to bye suche thynges as thei had, and so departide fro this holy man. But anone ther fil on þem¹ so gret tempest that thei were in poynte to be lost. & than on of them seid: “we suffre this gret trouble for we toke in skorne the wordes of the holy man; and therefore late us al desire hym to prey for us to oure lorde.” And than thei dide so, and anone the tempest.² And than thei come to this holy man and brought hym a feyre bible, the whiche is yet atte malmysbury to thys day.

And he was made bishop · iiij · yere byfore he dyed by brightwolde, erchebishop of Canturbury, and by saint Edwyne,³ byshop of wurcetter. and by them he was ful worshipfully brought on erthe. And yet the bishop Edwyne come thyder fedyrd with chenys of Iron fast lockid; and fro thens he went so to the pope of Rome, whiche was to hym a ful gret payne: god quytte his mede. And saint Aldelme or he dyed cursid al them that dide eny wrong to

¹ MS. hym, *cor. in margin.*

² *Caxton*: tempest cessed.

³ *In marg. here and below, Edgwyne.*

his seid abbey of malmysbery in brekyng of eny of ther pryueleges. And thei that holpe that howse shulde haue goddes blessing and his. And many days there aftir he was translatide and put in a ful worshipful schyryne, where oure lorde shew^t dayly many a gret myracle for his holy confessor seint Aldelme: wherefore oure lorde be preyed, worlde withoute ende. Amen. Here endith the life of seint Aldelme the confessour. and next folowith the lyfe of seint Theophile.

C. SAINT SWYTHYN. Fol. xxxii (55).

Here endith the life of seint Theophile. and next bygynneth the life of seint Swythen.

Seint Swithen the holy confessor was bore by sides wynchester, in the tyme of Egbert, he was the · viij · kyng after kenulf þat seint Beryne Cristened; for seint Austyn cristened not al Inglonde in kyng athelbrightes days, but seint Beryn dide cristen the west parte of Inglonde in the foreseid kyng kenulf is (*sic*) days. And than this holy seint swythen *seruyd* oure lorde in ful gret deuocion, so that al the peple had gret ioy of his holynes. & Elmeston, that was tho bishop of wynchester, made hym preste; and than he leued a ful streyte life, and bycome a ful holy man, so that kyng Egbert made hym hys chaunceler & chefe of his conseil. And than the kyng Egbert put his sonne and his heyre, that hight Ethulfe, into his guydyng, and preid hym to take goode heede to hym, so that he were brought fourth *vertuosly*. and within a while aftir his fader died, and than Ethulfe his sonne was made kyng aftir hym. And he guydide this londe ful wel, that it encreased gretly in goode leuyng, by the counseil of seint Swythen.

And when Elmeston the bishop of wynchester was dede seint Swythen was made bishop there aftir hym, wherefore al the peple were ful glad. and he by his holy leuyng causid þe peple to do ther tythyng trewly to god and to holy church. and where that eny church fil in decay seint Swythen wolde amende it anone. and if ther were eny church to be halowid he wolde go thedyr on fote, for he loued neuer pride, nor rydyng on gay horse, nor preysyng ne flatteryng of the peple. But nowe suche veyne thynges beth gretly byloued among hie estates, bothe spirituel and temporal. Seint Swythen goydyd ful wel his bishopriche, and ful wel he

amendide the towne of wynchester in his days, for he made the gret bridge of stone withoute the west yate of the towne. In a tyme ther come a woman ouer the bridge with hir lap ful of egges. and a recheles felowe toke this woman and wrestelyd with hir, and he breke ther al hir egges; wherfore the pore woman bygan to wepe and cry piteously for the losse of hir egges. And than it happyd that this holy bishop come by that same tyme, and bade the woman lete hym se hir egges. And anone he lifte up his honde and blessid the egges, and thei were made holle and sownde euerychone. And than this woman was fulfilled with gladnes, and she thonkid this holy man for this gret goodenes and myracle that he had done for hir.

And then anone aftir dyed kyng Ethulfe, and then his sonne egbert was kyng aftir him. And then was athelbert made kyng aftir hym. And in the .iiij. yere of this kyng dyed seint Swythyn. and he charged hys men to bery hym in the churche yerde, for cause the peple shulde sette but litle prise by hym, for he loued no pride in his lyfe. And he passid to oure lorde in the yere of oure lorde .viij. and .vj. and he lay there in that churche yerde or he was translatide and (*sic*) hundred and nyne yere and odde days. But in the goode kyng Edgar is days this holy seint, Seint Swythyn, was put in a ful worshipful shiryne in the towne of wyncester by Ethelwolde and seint Donstone. & in the same yere was seint Edward the martyr shyryned atte Schaftysbury.

These holy bishops, Ethelwolde and donstone, were warned by a vision that thei shulde se these .ij. holy seintes, Edward and Swithen, put in a worshipful schryne, and so thei dide with ful gret deuocion. and in like wise an holy man come to Ethelwolde and bade hym do the same, and if he so do his sikenes that he hath had so long shal go away fro hym, and euer aftir he shal be holle, to his lyves ende. and also by the tokyn that he shal fynde on seint Swythyn stone þat lithe on his beriele rynges of Iron theron nayled fast. and anone as thei sette honde on the ryng it come fro the stone anone, and no wēme was seyn in the stone. And when þei had take up the stone fro the grave thei sette the rynges to the stone, and thei were fastenyd anone therto. And than the bishop ethelwolde and al the peple thankid oure lorde for this gret myracle. And whan kyng Edgar with many bishops and gret multitude of

peple were atte takyng up of the holy body of seint Swythen, suche a sauour come oute of his grave that al the peple were fulfilled with that heuenely swetenes. And that same tyme a blynde woman receyued hir sight by the merytes of seint Swithen. And many on was helyd there thurgh that heuenely sauour that were byfore tormentide with ful gret sikenes, and yet there oure lorde shewith by his holy seruant many a gret myracle: wherefore his name be preysed, worlde withoute ende. Amen. Here endith the life of seint Swythen. And next folowyth the life of seint kenelme the holy martyr.

D. ST. DONSTON.¹ Fol. XXIX (53).

And than kyng Edgar and Odo made seint donston byshop of bothe, of london and of wynchester. And within a while aftir died Odo, Erchebishop of canturbury. And than kyng Edgar² lete make donstone Erchebishop there. and wel and wisely he goydide þis londe, to the plesyng of god, so that gret Ioye and myrthe was that tyme thorough al Englonde. And euery man preysed gretly seint Donstone for his goode rule and goydyng. And than he bade euery person to chese, either to kepe goode life and chastite or else to lese his personage. Thus seint Donston, seint Ethelwolde & seint Oswolde went thurgh al englonde to se the rule of persons. and they þat³ were not of goode leuyng thei put them oute of þer personages and toke al ther goodes fro them, and put in ther stede the moste holy men⁴ þat wolde entende the wele of mānys soule and leuyd aftir the plesure of god. And of the goodes that thei toke of the wickid persons þei bylde here in Englonde · xlviiij · abbeyes of monkys and of nōnys, as it is afore seid.⁵

E. ST. THOMAS OF CANTERBURY. Fol. 45 b.

Gylbert beket was seint Thomas of Caunturbury is fader, and borne in the Cite of london where seint Thomas of akers chirche is

¹ I give only small portions of *Donston* and *Becket*, where they seemed of special interest as showing what Caxton did or did not borrow.

² MS. Edgad, *cor. in margin*.

³ MS. and that they; *cor. in marg.*

⁴ MS. man; *cor. marg.*

⁵ My italics; note suggestion above, p. 85; this does not refer to any portion of *Donston*, and I suggest a reference to a lost chapter on *Oswald*.

nowe. and he¹ was a ful goode man. and in his yong age he toke the crose and went into the holy londe, and toke with hym on wylliam, that was his man, that he loued and trust right wel. and so when god wolde thei come to the Cite of Jerusalem. and there thei dide ther pilgremage with ful gret deuocioun. And as thei were comyng homwarde ayene thei were take prisoners of the sarasyns, with many other cristen men with hem. And thei al were brought as prisoners to the prynce of howse that was clepid Amyrand But this prynce Amyrand had a gret affection to talke with gilbert beket, and wolde aske hym of the Cristen feith, of the rule of Englonde. and bycause he was famylier with the prynce al his felowes ferde the better for his sake; and in especial for the princes doughter louyd muche this gilbert. And in a tyme she seid to hym if he wolde wedde hir she wolde forsake al hir heritage and bycome cristen for his loue. And than she askid of hym of the rule of cristen feith, and what shulde be ther rewarde atte laste ende. And he answerd and seid: "the blisse of heuene is ther rewarde." and than she askyd him where he dwellid. He seid: "in Englonde, in the Cite of london." And than she seid: "to london wol I come for thi sake if thou wilt promyse to wedde me to thi wife." And than he mad hir promyse so to do. But within a while aftir he and his felowe, by the puruyaunce of oure lorde, escapid oute of prison and come into cristyndome in safte. . . .

And this mayde, the prynces doughter, herde this she was ful heuy, and wepte ful sore. And in a nyght whan she se hir tyme she went away alone, and come into many a wilde place and euer she askyd aftir "london, london," and "beket, beket," for more englysshe coude she not. And so atte last by the puruyaunce of oure lorde she come ouer see into englonde, and so forth to london. and when she come ayenst the place where gilbert beket dwellid, there seint Thomas of akirs is nowe, she stode stil ther, and many a sherewed boy wonderyng upon hir, for she koude sey no thyng but "london, london," & "beket, beket." Hit happid that william, gilbert bekettes man that was with hym while he was prisoner, knewe this mayde, and went to his maister beket and tolde hym howe the prynces doughter Amyrand stode atte his dore and much peple wonderyng on hir. And then he anone went to

¹ MS. he *bis*.

hir. and when she se hym she fel a-sownyng, and lay as she had be dede. and then gilbert beket toke hir up and confortide hir in the best wise he cowde, and led hir into his howse, and bade his men give hir mete and drynke.

And in the mene tyme gilbert went to seint Poulys church, where ther were .vj. bishops atte that tyme. and then he tolde them of this wondyr, howe fer this hethyn maide was come and forsake al hir heritage, and to bycome cristen for his sake if he wolde wedde hir. . . . then anone she was baptized with the ful assent of al the byshops, and furthwith weddyde to the seid Gilbert¹ beket in the church of Poulys with ful gret solempnyte (*Gilbert's 2nd pilgrimage, and birth of Thomas*). . . . and within a while aftir he set this holy childe Thomas to scole, wherein he encreased ful muche withyn fewe yeres, and drewe al to vertues (*sic*) lyvyng, that euery man spake goode of hym. . . . Than he bycome a worshipful mannys seruaunt of this Cite of london, and kepte al his rekenyng. and his maister loued hym and trust hym ful muche for his trewe seruyce. and aftir that he dwellid with Tybaude, that was the Erchebyshop of Canturbury. and he loued hym so muche that he made hym his Erchedekyn and chefe of his counsel. . . . And then anone aftir the Duke of Normandy that hight bloys dyed; and then was his sonne herry the secounde made kyng of Englonde; and he made seint Thomas his Chaunceler.

F. THE SEVEN SLEEPERS. H. fol. 128 b; E. fol. 169 b; A. fol. 141 b; h. fol. 213; D. (incompl.) fol. 79.

Here endith the lyfe of Seinte Cristofore. And next folewinge biginneth the lyfe of the .vij. Slepers. Capitulo. lxxxiiij.^o

The .vij.² Slepers wer bore in the Cite of Ephesim. And whan Dacian³ the Emperour come into Ephesim for the persecucion of cristen peple he commaundid to edifie the templis in the myddis⁴ of the Cite, so that alle myghte come with him to sacrifice to the ydolis. and made for to⁵ seke alle the cristen, and lete bringe hem

¹ Words to—Gil. bis.

² In h. the No. is inserted by reviser; A. om. the Cite of.

³ In h. reviser has changed to Decian, and elsewhere.

⁴ E. & h., middel (myddell).

⁵ Others om. for to; A., above, to do sac.

bounde, for to sacrifice or ellis to deye.¹ so that eueryche² were so aferde of peynes that the³ frende forsoke his frende; and the sone renyed his ffadir, and the ffader the sone. And than in that Cite were founde .vij. cristen of whom the names were:⁴ Maximian, Malche, Martinian, Denys, Johan, Sypion,⁵ and Constantyn. and whan thei saugh this persecucion thei had gret sorewe. and for thei wer the first in the Paleis dispisinge the sacrifice of ydollis thei hid hem in her hous, and were in fastinge and in prayer⁶ contynually. And than thei wer accusid afore⁷ Dacian, and come thider; and verili thei were preuid cristen men.⁸ and than was there yeue to hem space of repentaunce⁹ unto the comynge of Dacian. and in the mene tyme thei spendid al her Patrimonye amonge the pour peple, and toke counsel, and wente to¹⁰ the Mounte Selion. and there thei ordeyned hem to be more priueli; and there thei hid hem longe tyme;¹¹ and one of her felishippe to ordeyne for her lifode. And whan he wente into the Cite he clothid him as¹² a begger.

and whan Dacian was come into the Cite he lete seke hem. and than Malche, her ministre, returned ful of drede to hem, and tolde hem of the cruelte of the Emperour. and than wer thei gretli affraied.¹³ But neuer the lees Malche set afore hem the brede that he had brought, so that whan thei wer wel confortid with mete thei myghte be strengier to tormentis.¹⁴ And whan thei had take her¹⁵ refeccion, as thei satte in sorowe and wepinge thei fil sodedli¹⁶ (*sic*) aslepe, as god wold. And whan hit come to the morwe, and thei had be sought and myght not be founde, Dacian was ful sory that he had lost so goodli yonge men. And than thei wer accusid, how thei had yeue alle her goodis to pour men, and wer hid unto¹⁷ that tyme in the Mounte of Selion, and abode alweie in her cristen pur-

¹ *E.*, bounde other to deye or to do sacrifice; *A.*, b. ether to dye or elles t. d. s.; *h.*, b. or to die or t. d. s.

² *E.* and *h.*, euery; *A.*, many oon; *E.*, so sore aferde.

³ *A.*, that oon f. forsoke another and.

⁴ *All*, weren.

⁵ *E.*, Sempion; *A.*, Sympyon; *h.*, Serapion.

⁶ *A.*, prayng.

⁷ *Others*, before (by-, bi-).

⁸ *All*, and v. proued C. men.

⁹ *All*, yeue hem (*h.*, him) space to repente hem.

¹⁰ *A.*, un to.

¹¹ *All om.* tyme.

¹² *A.*, clothid hym lyke a; *the, Belet MS. Ad. 17, 275, fol. 171 b, has*: il se uestoit en maniere de mire & le contrefesoit.

¹³ *A.*, they were.

¹⁴ *A. om.* to tormentis.

¹⁵ *h. om.* her.

¹⁶ *All*, fillen sodenly; *A.*, yn a sorowe.

¹⁷ *A. and h.*, yn to (into).

pos. And than Dacian lete calle her kynrede, and manasid hem with dethe but yf thei wolde telle al that thei knewe of hem. and thei accusid hem, and compleyned on hem, seyinge that thei had dispendid alle her goodis in pour men. And than Dacian thoughte how¹ he myghte do with hem; and ordeyned that thei shold be closid up in the Caue with stones, to that ende that thei myghte deye there for hunger and for² sorwe. And than the werkemen that did that and .ij. cristen men, that is to wite Theodore and Ruffyn, wrote her martirdome and put hit sotelli undir³ the stones.

And whanne Dacian was ded, and al that generacion, . CCC . and ⁴ . lxxvij . yer aftir, in the . xxx . wynter⁵ of the Empir of Theodosian, whan the heresie of hem that⁶ renyed the Resurreccion of the dede bygan to encrece, that⁷ the right cristen Emperour Theodosian whan he saugh the feithe to be so felonesli⁸ demened he was ful of sorowe, and clothid him with the heyre, and was in a secrete place, and wepte euery daye. and whan our pitous⁹ lord saugh this thinge he wold conforte the wepers and yeue hope of the¹⁰ Resurreccion of the dede, and opened the tresour of his pite, and arerid the¹¹ forseid martris in this wyse. He gaffe wil to a Burgeys of Ephesim that he wold make in that Mounteyne a stabul¹² for his sheperdis. and so hit fel by auenture that the masons opened that Caue. and the seintes awoke than, and bade eche of hem othir good morwe, and wende that¹³ thei had slepte but one nyghte. and than thei recordid her¹⁴ sorwe of the daye byfore. and Malche, that ministred her necessites to hem, seide What Dacian ordeyned had for hem;¹⁵ for he seide: "we haue be sought, as I tolde yowe yestir euen, for to sacrifice to the ydollis or ellis to deye." And than¹⁶ Maximian seide: "god wot that we wyl not¹⁷ sacrifye to deie." and Maximian seide whan he had confortid his felawes he bad Malche that he shold go into the Cite and beye hem brede; and

¹All, what.

²E. om. for.

³All, among.

⁴All. om. and.

⁵All have, yere; A. omits in.

⁶MS., that, bis.

⁷All, than (ne).

⁸A. has, sat yn the filth to be so felously, etc.!

⁹Others, whan oure peteus lorde god sawe; E. om., pitous; A., sawe that (om. thinge).

¹⁰All om. the.

¹¹A., thes.

¹²All, a stable (E, stale) to his; A., yn the mōtayne.

¹³All om. that.

¹⁴A., the (ther?)

¹⁵All, decien hadde or. of hem (A., for us).

¹⁶All om. than.

¹⁷All, neuer; A., neuer do sacrifice to the Idolle, for we had leuer rather to dye.

that he brought hem more than he did bifore,¹ and espied² redli what the Emperour had ordeyned for hem.

And than Malche toke .v.³ s. and wente oute of the Caue. and whan he saughe alle the stones he had gret merueile; but he thoughte but litil uppon⁴ the stones: he thoughte moche more thinge.⁵ And than he come al dredful⁶ to the yates of the Cite. and he was al abasshid, for he saugh the signe of the Crosse set thereon. and than he⁷ wente to anothir yate, and fonde⁸ the same token of the Crosse. and than he merueiled ouer mesure; for vppon euery yate he fonde the signe of the Crosse. and than he blessid him, and returned ayen to the first yate, and wende that he had dremed.⁹ and than he confermed him selfe, and hid his visage and entrid into the Cite. and whan he come to the sellers of brede, and he herde men¹⁰ speke of god, And than¹¹ was he more abasshid, and seid: "benedicite! what meneth this? yister day there durst no man speke of Jhū Crist, and to-daie euery man knowlecheth that they be cristen.¹² I trowe this is not the Cite of Ephesim; for she is al other wyse byldid."¹³ and than he asked; and than thei tolde him sikerli that hit was Ephesim, than¹⁴ him thought in him selfe¹⁵ that he maddid verili, and thought to haue go ayen to his felawes.

And than he wente to hem that solde brede. And whan he shewed hem¹⁶ the money the sellers merueiled gretli, and seide that¹⁷ one to that othir that this yonge man had founde¹⁸ som olde tresour. and whan Malche saugh hem speke togedris he drad¹⁹ lest thei wold lede hym to the Emperour, and praied hem that thei wolde²⁰ lete him go, and kepe his money stille, and the brede also. but thei

¹E., thanne the day before, *also h.*; A., And he b. m. t. he brought the day before.

²All, aspy.

³A. & h., tolde; E. & A., v shyllingges (Schelynges).

⁴All, in the.

⁵All, on other thinge(s).

⁶E., dredfully.

⁷A. om., he; A. & h., un to, into.

⁸E. & h. om., fonde.

⁹E. & h., and went to haue dremed; A., and had wende to haue dremyd.

¹⁰A., herde hem.

¹¹All, god/yet was he.

¹²A., ben Cristened.

¹³E., byled I note whiche and he asked and they; A., for hit is alle o. w. beldyd I not howe And he askyd and they; h., bildid, *etc.*, like E.

¹⁴All om. than.

¹⁵E. & h., hym self verrey; E., hadde maddyd; E. & h. om. verili below.

¹⁶All om. hem.

¹⁷A. om. that; E. & h., mervailedin.

¹⁸A., founde money of some olde conage or tresour.

¹⁹E. & h., dredde hym; A., d. hym selfe lest they wolde haue lede.

²⁰A., hem to lete.

hilde him faste, and seide: "whens art thou? hast thou founde tresours of the auncient Emperours?¹ shewe vs wher hit is, that we mowe be felawes with the, and we shal kepe thi counsel." and Malche wist not what for² to answer hem for dred that he had. And whan thei saugh that he held pees³ they teyged a corde⁴ and drowe him thorgh the strete into the myddis of the Cite. and the tydinges wente al aboute⁵ that a younge man had founde the olde Tresours,⁶ so that alle assemblid aboute him. and than⁷ euery man marueiled of him. but he wolde in no wyse confesse that he had founde eny tresours. and euery man bihilde him, but⁸ he was knowe of none. And in that othir side he bihelde the peple, to loke yf he couthe knowe eny of his kynne, that he wende that⁹ had lyuid yit; and he couthe none fynde, wherfore he was nyghe oute of him selfe for this gret merueile. and thus he stode al amasid amonge the¹⁰ peple of the Cite. And whan seinte Martyn the Bisshop¹¹ and Antepater that was Consulte, which was newe come to¹² the Cite, herde this thinge, thei sente anone that thei shold bringe wysely him¹³ into her presence, and that the money shold be brought with hym.

And whan he was brought to the Chirche he wende verili that he shold haue come bfore the Emperour. And than the Bisshoppe and the Consulte merueiled hem of that¹⁴ money, and asked him where he had founde that tresour vnknowe. and he answerid and seide¹⁵ that he had no thinge founde, but that he had come by his kynrede. And also he seide:¹⁶ "I wote wel that I was bore in this Cite, yf this be the Cite of Ephesim." And than seide the Juge¹⁷ to him: "how shold we leue the, that this¹⁸ come of thy kynrede, whan the scripture of the money sheweth that hit is

¹*E. & h.*, art thou/thou hast f. the tresour(es) of aunsien; *A.*, art þu that hast f. this tresour of an auncien Emperour.

²*All om.* for.

³*All*, his p.

⁴*A.*, a corde to hym and.

⁵*A. & h.* here and below, a bouth, abought.

⁶*E. & h.*, the hidde tresours; *A.*, yong madde founde hyd tresoure.

⁷*E. & h.*, And whan; *A.*, And whan e. m. knewe that they meruelde on hym and he; rest also, and he.

⁸*All*, and he.

⁹*All om.* that.

¹⁰*E. & A.*, al the.

¹¹*A. om.* the B.

¹²*A.*, the whiche *A. & h.*, into the.

¹³*All*, bringe hym wysely.

¹⁴*A.*, meruelde on the; *E. & h.* of the.

¹⁵*All om.* and seide.

¹⁶*All*, And he ansuered and saide; *A.*, yet I was.

¹⁷*All*, the iuge saide.

¹⁸*All*, this money.

passid .ccc. yer .lxxvij.¹ that hit was made? for hit wente in the firste daies of Dacian the Emperour, and resemblith no² thinge to our money. and how myght³ hit be that thi kynne shold⁴ be of suche age to lyue now? thou art but late bore, and woldist disceyue⁵ the wise⁶ and the auncien of the Cite of Ephesim. And therefore I commaunde that thou (*be*) demened⁷ aftir the lawes into the tyme that thou hast confessed that thou⁸ hast founde." And than Malche knelid downe, and seide: "for goddis loue, my lordis,⁹ telle me o thinge that I shal aske of yowe.¹⁰ Where is Dacian the Emperour,¹¹ that was in this Cite, where is he?" And the Bisshop answerid¹² and seide: "sone, there is¹³ none nowe alyue that highte Dacian. there¹⁴ was an Emperour that hight so meny wordlis¹⁵ (*sic*) passid." and than Malche seide: "of this I merueile¹⁶ me gretli. and there is none that leevith me. but foloweth me, and I shal shewe yow¹⁷ my felawes, that be in the mounte of Silion; and than I hope that¹⁸ ye wil leewe hem. for I wot wel that¹⁹ we fled vs for drede of the Emperour²⁰ Dacian. And I wot wel that yister nyghte I saugh²¹ the Emperour Dacian entre into this Cite, yf this be the Cite of Ephesym."²²

And than the Bisshop bythought him selfe, and seide to the Juge

¹*E.*, ccc yere lxxvij; *h.*, ccc yere lx and vij; *the Belet MS. Ad.* 17,275, fol. 172 renders the whole better: Li preuost li dist: "fes uenir tes parens, qui tesmoingneront pour toi." & il les nōma, & nuls ne les connut. et disoient que il le disoit pour barat, pour ce que il peust eschaper en aucune maniere. Le preuost li dist adonc: "cōment te corrons nous que ce soit de l'argent ton pere & ta mere, Quant en l'escripture decelui a iij^o & lxxvij ans, & soit du premier iour de decius?"

²*E. & h.*, in no; *h.*, moneys; *Douce MS. begins*, fol. 79: nothinge; oure, see above, p. 60.

³*D.*, mygt.

⁴*A.*, kyn myght.

⁵*D.*, þu art; disceiue.

⁶*A.*, wise men and.

⁷*D.*, þerfore; cōmaunde; þu; *A.*, ther I c. the that thou be demened; *E. & h.*, be demened.

⁸*D.*, þat þu; confessid þat þu.

⁹*A.* om. my lordis; *h.* om. my.

¹⁰*D.*, þat I; gowe; *E. & h.* om. of.

¹¹*D.*, Emperour.

¹²*E.* *A. & h.*, answered hym.

¹³*D.*, þere; alyve; *E.*, nys.

¹⁴*D.*, higte; þere was an Emperour þat higt.

¹⁵*E.*, many worlde; *A.*, many an olde day passyd; *the corrected h.* like *A.*, but om. an.

¹⁶*D.*, þis; merueile; and þere.

¹⁷*D.*, gow.

¹⁸*D.*, þat ge; *E. & h.* om. that.

¹⁹*D.*, þat.

²⁰*D.*, here and below, Emperour.

²¹*D.*, þat gister nygte I sawe.

²²*A. & h.*, into the (*h.*, þis) C. of Ephesym, and om. final clause; *D.*, Ephesim; þe Bisshop by þought.

that this¹ was som vision that god wold shewe by this yonge² man. and than thei³ wente with him, and a gret multitude of⁴ peple of the Cite folowed hem. And whan thei⁵ come thider Malche entrid first yn. and as the Bisshop wente he fonde amonge the stones the⁶ lettris, selid with .ij. selis of siluer. And than the Bisshop⁷ callid the peple and rad hem bfore hem alle, and alle wer⁸ gretli abasshid of the meruelous⁹ huringe. And than thei saugh these seintis sittynge, and her visages al fresshe as eny flour¹⁰ of rose, wherfore al the peple glorified god. And anon the¹¹ Bisshop and the Juge sente to Theodosian the Emperour, prayinge him that he wolde¹² come and se the grete merueilis that god had shewed¹³ late.

And whan the Emperour herde this¹⁴ massage, anone he aros for the erthe, and did away the (*sak*)¹⁵ wheron he wepte, and glorified god, and came fro Constantinople to Ephesim. and al the Cite wente ayenst him, and alle come ayenst him and¹⁶ come to the Mounteyn, where he¹⁷ entrid into the Caue. and as sone as the seintis saugh¹⁸ the Emperour her facis shyned as the sonne. And whan the Emperour saugh¹⁹ this he glorified god, and clippid hem, and wepte vppon eueryche²⁰ of hem, and seide: "I behold yowe as though I saughe²¹ our lord areyse Lazar fro dethe to lyfe." And than Maximian seide: "Leeue vs truli, ser Emperour, that for thi loue our lord²² hath arered vs byfore the day of the²³ Resurreccion, for thou sholdist stedfastli byleue the Resurreccion of the dede that be²⁴ to come. And verili we be resussitid and lyue. and

¹D., *bat* this; *bat*.

²D., *his* yonge.

³D., *bei*.

⁴A., of the peple of t. C. and folowed hym.

⁵D., *bei*; *bider*.

⁶D., *pe*.

⁷D., *be* Bisshop; *others merely*, he called.

⁸D., *were*; *E. & h.*, *weren*.

⁹D., *mervelous*; *bei* sawge *pese*.

¹⁰D., *floure*; *A. & h.*, as *fresche*.

¹¹A. *om.* the; *D.*, *be* Juge; *be* Emperour.

¹²D., *bat*; *wold*; *mervellis*; *rest*, *wold* come see.

¹³E. *A. & h.*, now late.

¹⁴D., *pis*.

¹⁵H. & D. *both om.*, leaving a blank space in *D.*, filled by paragraph sign in *H*; in *E.*, *A. & h.*, *sacke* (*sakke*, *sak*) wher yn; *A. om.* and - God.

¹⁶D., *agenst*, *both*; *E. om.* the Cite; *A. & h.*, and alle went a. h. and come to, *no repetition*. ¹⁷E., *A. & h.*, they. ¹⁸D., *Cave*; sawge the Emperoure, and below.

¹⁹D., *sawge*.

²⁰*h.*, uppon euerech uppon hem and.

²¹D., *gowe* as bouge I sauge oure.

²²D., *maximian*; Emperoure; *bi*; oure; *A.*, oure lorde god.

²³A. *om.* the; *D.*, *be*; *pu*.

²⁴D., *bat*; *A.*, is to.

right as¹ the Child is in the modris wombe withoute felinge or disese, right so we haue be her² lyvinge and slepinge withoute eny disese felinge.”³

And whan thei had thus⁴ seid thei bowed downe her hedis to the erthe and gafe her spiritis vp,⁵ by the commaundement of god. And than the Emperour⁶ arose, and fil vppon hem, and wepte, and kyssid hem, and wente his wey, and commaundid that⁷ men shold ordeyne Shrynes of gold and syluer to leye hem ynne. and that same nyght thei apperid⁸ to the Emperour and seide to him⁹ that he shold suffre hem lie¹⁰ in the erthe as thei had done, vnto the tyme that god liste to rere hem ayen.¹¹ And than the Emperour commaundid that the¹² place shold be araied nobilli with stones, and that¹³ alle Bisshopes that wolde confesse the Resurreccion were assoiled: and hit was done. and of that hit is seid they slepte¹⁴ .ccc. lxxvij. yer, and¹⁵ thei arisen the yer of our lord .cccc. xlvij. and Dacian regned but one yer¹⁶ only and .iiij. monthis, and that was in the yer of our lord .cc. lij. and so by this they¹⁷ shold not slepe but an .c. iiij^{xx}. and¹⁸ .xiiij. yer.

Her endith the lyfe of the¹⁹ .vij. Slepers.

G. ST. MARINE. A. fol. 114; E. fol. 124 b; D. fol. 55 b.

Seynt Maryne was a noble uirgyn, and was oonly with hir fader, without brother or suster. And hir fader aftir the deth of hir

¹A., resuscite And beleue veryly that right as; D., lyve; rigt, and below.

²D., here. ³A., ben here leuyng withoute disese and slepyng withoute felyng.

⁴D., they; bus; bei; þe erthe.

⁵E., A. & h., gaue up her; D., gafe; by þe cōmaundement.

⁶D., Emperoure.

⁷D., cōmaundid þat.

⁸D., nygt bei aperid; Emperoure; others om. same.

⁹E. & h. om. to; A. om. to him. ¹⁰A., to ly; D., in þe; as þei.

¹¹D., tyme þat; agen; E., unto tyme, and h., into tyme.

¹²D., þe Emperoure cōmaundid that þe.

¹³D., þat.

¹⁴E., A. & h., weren assoiled: it is done. of that is sayde that they slepen; D., and of þat, like H.

¹⁵E., A. & h., for; A., ooc and lx and xvij yere, for they arose in; D., gere, both; þei; oure; h., yere afore oure lorde!

¹⁶D., in all cases, gere.

¹⁷D. þei, initial th also thus below; oure lord.

¹⁸E. & h. om. and; A., an c iiij score and.

¹⁹E. & h. om. the; A., the lyues of the. *St. Marine.* I do not pretend to give all variants.

moder Enteryd into a monastery of monkes, and chaunged the clothyng of his doughter so *pat* men wende that she had ben his sone. And than the fader prayed the abot of the hous & the monkes that they wolde receyue his sone as a monke, for he¹ had no mo childerñ. And they grauntyd hym goodly; and she was callyd among hem brother Maryne. And she bygan to leue religiously, and was att alle obedyent. And whan she was atte² age of .xxvij. yere hir fader felt hym seke ny to the deth. He callyd his doughter to hym, and confermed hir in hir³ goode purpos, and charged her upon his blessing that sche schulde neuer diskeuer hit to no creature that sche was a woman. And so he dyed, and sche abode in hir holy purpos, And contynued hir selfe⁴ as an holy monke, Unknowyng to alle creatures that she was a woman.

And than it felle so that she went ofte tymes *with* other monkes to the wode *with* hir carte and hir oxyn, for to bring home wode unto⁵ hir monastery. And hir costome was when he (*sic*) went so to herberowe hem at a frankelyns⁶ hous, whiche had a doughter that had conceyued a chylde by a knyght. And whan hit was *parceyued* than⁷ she was aresonyd who was the fader. She said surely that hit was the monke Maryne, the whiche hade gotten hir with childe. Whañ the fader and the moder herd this, they went to the abot and made an horrible clamor⁸ upon hym for his monke. the abot, hauyng gret schame and sorowe for the⁹ foule clamor, sent for maryne, and askyd how¹⁰ he had done so horribly synne. He mekely ansuered and said: "holy fader, I aske oure lorde mercy, for I haue synned." The abbot, heryng this, was out of hym selfe for sorowe and schame, and comaundid that he schulde schamfully be put out of hir monastery. He paciently abode *withoute*, and dwellyd stille att the¹¹ yate .iij. yere. And unnethes they threwe¹² hym a morsellle of bred in a day.

¹*E. om.* he.

²*E.* of the age.

³*E. om.* hir.

⁴*E.* her lyff.

⁵*E.* wode to her.

⁶*E.* herburgh hym in a frankeleyne his hous.

⁷*E.* *parceyued* and that she.

⁸*E.* an opin clamour.

⁹*E.* this.

¹⁰*E.* maurin and asked hym whi he hadde do so horrible a.

¹¹*MS. om.*; *E.* att the.

¹²*E.* drewe.

H. ST. MARINE. Va. fol. 127; Vr. fol. 146 b; Vo. fol. 123.

Marine est dite¹ aussi comme ensamble auec marie. Elle ensamble (*sic*) auec la vierge marie par ceque elle garda² virginite, humilite, et pascience.

Marine fu vierge, et fu une seulle fille auec son pere. Et son pere apres la mort de sa femme entra en .i. moustier, et mua *labit*³ de sa fille si que len cuidoit miex que ce fust homme que femme. Et dont deproia le pere labbe & les peres que il receussent son filz, et que il nen auoit plus; et illi ottroierent; & fu receu en moine, Et fu⁴ appelez de tous frere marin. Et dont *commenca* a viure moult religieusement et estre obedient. Et quant elle fu de .xxvij. ans, et le⁵ pere se senti⁶ aprochier de mort, il apela sa fille & la *confrema*⁷ en bon purpos, et li commanda que elle ne reuelast a nul que elle fust femme.

Et dont elle aloit souuent auec le char et auec les buefs pour apporter la busche au moustier. Et elle auoit a coustume quant elle aloit la a soi herbergier⁸ en la maison dun homme ou il auoit une fille qui auoit conceu .i. enfant dun cheualier. Et quant on li demanda de qui cestoit, elle dist que le moine marin lauoit corrompue. Et dont demanda len a marin pour quoi il auoit fait si grant pechie. et il dist quil auoit pechie, et requist pardon. Et tantost il fu gettes hors du moustier, et maint a luis du moustier, et demora la trois ans. Et nauoit que .i. morsel de pain le iour.

I. SAINT PATRICK. H. fol. 54 b; E. fol. 69; A. fol. 95;
h. fol. 94.

Seynt Patrik bygan to preche about the yer of our lord .iiij.^c iiij^{xx}. and as he preched the passion of our lord⁹ Jhū Crist to the kyng of Scotland,¹⁰ he stod byfore hym, and lened uppon his borden¹¹ that he *helde*¹² in his hond, and this¹³ was *paraurentur*

¹ Vr., si est ditte.

² Vr., regarda.

³ MS. has, sa vie; Vr., labit.

⁴ Vr., estoit appelle.

⁵ Vr., son.

⁶ Vo., senti pres de.

⁷ Vr., conferma.

⁸ Order changed in Vr., a soi hebergier quant ele aloit la. St. Patrick.

⁹ Others omit our lord.

¹⁰ h. has been cor. to, Ireland.

¹¹ A. omits.

¹² MS. heled, with partial erasure; rest, helde.

¹³ A., he was; h., hit was.

uppon the fote of the kyng. and the poynt of the borden perced¹ the kinges fote. and than the kyng wende that the holy Bisshop had do² hit wetingli, and other wayes he myght not resceyue the feithe but if he suffred so for Jhū Crist; And therfore he suffred hit pacientli. And than at³ last the holy man conceyued this thinge, and⁴ was al abasshed; and than anone he helid the kyng by his prayers. and he gate to that prouynce that no venemous bestis myght leue therynne. and yit he gate more, and the lepres of that contre be holsom ayenst venym.⁵

Ther was a man that had stole a shepe fro a neygbore of his and ete hit. and the holy man⁶ ofte tymes had spoke⁷ amonge the peple in the chirch, that whoso had⁸ do that dede shold make satisfaccion. but none was do, ne none wold knowleche hit,⁹ priuely ne openly. And whan al the peple was assembled in¹⁰ a tyme in the chirch this holy man commaundid, in the name of Jhū Crist, that the shepe sholde blete¹¹ withynne the bely of him that ete¹² him: and so he dyde. And he that was gilty did penaunce.¹³ he had in custom to worship alle the Crosses deuoutly that he sawe.¹⁴ But in a tyme he passed by a fayre Crosse that he toke none hede of, but passid ouer.¹⁵ And his men asked him why he had not byholde this¹⁶ crosse. And whan he prayed he herde a voyce undir the erthe that¹⁷ seyde: "thou hast not byholde me for I am an¹⁸ hethyn man that am buried her, and am not worthi to see the signe of the crosse."¹⁹ and than he made the²⁰ crosse to be take away.

¹ *h.*, pershed.

² *MS. omits; E.*, hadde done it; *A. & h.*, had do it.

³ *h.*, atte be.

⁴ *E. & h.*, that for and.

⁵ *E.*, more, that the trees and the lether of that contre bene; *A.*, teeres & the lepour; *h.*, teeres and the leprs.

⁶ *h. omits* man, but in marg.

⁷ *E. & h.*, hadde often tymes spoken; *A.*, had often tyme spoken.

⁸ *A.*, who euer had; *h.*, who so that hadde (doo, marg.).

⁹ *MS. omits; A. has*, wolde knowleched hit neither pryveyly, etc. In *h.* the saint is Patriark; but such mere orthographic variants are unnoted.

¹⁰ *A.*, on a tyme.

¹¹ *MS. has*, wold; *others*, shulde blede.

¹² *h.*, withynne be body of him that hadde ete.

¹³ *A.*, and so he dide penaunce that was gilty. And had in, etc.

¹⁴ *A.*, crosses that he seigh right deuoutly.

¹⁵ *A.*, passed forthby. And his, etc.

¹⁶ *Others*, that c.; *A. omits*, him; whi that he hadde, etc.

¹⁷ *MS. has*, and; *others*, that; *A.*, that seid to hym.

¹⁸ *h. omits*, an.

¹⁹ *E.*, worthi of the signe; *A.*, worthy to haue the; *h. like E.* ²⁰ *Others*, that.

And this blessid Seynt Patrik preched in Ireland, and did litel frute amonge hem. he prayed to¹ our lorde that he wold shewe som tokyn by the whiche thei myght be adredde and repent hem.² And than by the commaundement of our lord he made in a³ place a gret sercle wyth his staff. and than the erthe opned withynne the sercle, and there appered a gret pytte and a depe. and than hit was shewed to the blessid Patrik that there was a place of Purgatory; And whosoever wold go downe there he shold haue non othir penaunce, no non othir harme haue for her synnes.⁴ and meny come not ayen that went thedir. And thoo that com ayen most abide there fro on morwe to anothis.

and than longe tyme aftir, whan Seynt⁵ Patrik was ded, there was a man that hyght Nicholas, the which had do many synnes. but he repentid him, and wold suffer to be purged in the purgatory of seynt Patrik. and so as custom was that othis did: he fasted .xv. dayes bfore that he made the dores to be undo of that purgatory, the whiche is kept in an Abbey undir keye.⁶ And than he descendid into the pit.⁷ and in the side of the pit⁸ he founde a dore, and⁹ entred withynne. and there he founde an oratory; and¹⁰ monkes that were reuest in Abbeyes entred there to that oratory and did her seruise. And than¹¹ thei seide to Nicholas that he shold be sad and stedfast in the feythe, for him byhoueth to passe by many hard assayes of the¹² fendis. and than he asked hem what remedi and help¹³ he myght haue ayenst hem, they seid: "as sone as thou felest the turmentid wyth peynes, sey anone,¹⁴ *Jhū Criste, fili dei viui, miserere michi peccatori.*"

And anone as these men were go the fendis come and bade him to obeye hem, and made¹⁵ him gret promys yf he wold do¹⁶ hit, that thei wold kepe him and brynge him ayen to his owne

¹*Others omit to.*

²*A., myght be agast and repent hym.*

³*A. omits, a.*

⁴*E. & h., haue none other p. fele ne, etc.*

⁵*A., whan seint p. come ayen ther was, etc.*

⁶*A., under lok and key.*

⁷*A., that pitte.*

⁸*Others, that.*

⁹*A., and he.*

¹⁰*MS. has, of; others, oratori and monkes; E., in aubys entred in to; h., in Abyeys entred into; A., (monkes) that were reuessed entred in to, etc.*

¹¹*A.. And thei seid.*

¹²*h. omits, the.*

¹³*A. omits, and help; haue to helpe hym ayenst them.*

¹⁴*A., sey anone thise wordes.*

¹⁵*A., and they made.*

¹⁶*E. omits, do*

place. But whan he wold not obey to hem¹ in no wyse, than he herde² voyce of dyuerse wylde bestis, and the cryinge of hem togeders³ semyd as though alle the elementis had falle downe. and as he trembled for drede horrible he seid:⁴ “Jhū Criste, fili dei viui, miserere mihi peccatori.” And as sone as he had seid these wordis al that multitude of the horribil bestis aplesed.⁵ and than he went ouer to anothir place. and there he founde a gret multitude of enemyes:⁶ “Wenest thou that thou be ascaped fro us?⁷ nay, thenke⁸ hit not, but knowe wel⁹ we shal begynne to turment the.” And than there apperid a gret multitude¹⁰ and an horrible fyre byfore him:¹¹ “yf thou wylt not consent to us, we shal throwe the in this fyre brennyng.”¹² and whan he refused hit thei toke him and¹³ cast him in that dredful fyre. and whan he felt him self turmentid, anone he cryed:¹⁴ “Jhū Criste, fili dei viui, miserere michi peccatori.” and than anone¹⁵ the fyre quenched. And fro thens he went into anothir place and seigh¹⁶ Som men brenne in the fyr al quycke. and fro thens he went into anothir place to be bete with pecis al of Iren brennyng, and the bodyes¹⁷ to-rent with tonges of fyre,¹⁸ that the bowels appered. and hadden her¹⁹ belyes toward the erthe, and gnewe the erthe for sorwe and wo, and²⁰ cryed peteuously: “spare us, spare us.” and than the fendes²¹ bete him more greuousli. And he sawe othir of whom the²² serpentis deuoured her membres, and feedes²³ drewe here bowels

¹*E. omits, to hem.*

²*E. & A., the voys.*

³*E. & h., criengges; A., that hit semyd as al the, etc.*

⁴*E. & h., trembeled all for the horrible drede he seid; A., for the horrible drede that he herde and seigh than he seid thus.*

⁵*E., were apesed; A., were aplesed; h., were apesed [And þan he went ouer to a noþer place and þere he founde a grete multitude of þe (bis) horrible bestes were apesed]; all in brackets erased & repeated correctly on reverse, top of fol. 95 b.*

⁶*A., enemyes. and than thei seid to hym. Wenest, etc.; h. had same as H., but in marg. bef. wenest is inserted, þat sayde. ⁷A., fro us this. ⁸&*

⁹*A., thyng hit not. But nowe we schul, etc.; E. & h., think; then like A.*

¹⁰*E., A. & h. omit multitude. ¹¹h. adds after him, in marg., & þay sayde.*

¹²*A., fire that is hote brennyng. ¹³A., and they. ¹⁴Others, he cried anone.*

¹⁵*E. omits, anone.*

¹⁶*MS. has, seid; also E. & h.; A., seigh.*

¹⁷*E., al quik and to beten with peces of Iren; h., al quik and to be beten, etc.; A., al quycke and thei were beten with p. of Iron al brennyng and ther, etc.*

¹⁸*A., al fire that her. ¹⁹E. & h., and hadden; A., her belyes was towarde.*

²⁰*A., and thei. ²¹E., fendes; E. & A., bete hem. ²²A. omits, the.*

²³*E. & h., bufones drew; A., vufones.*

aboute with her brennyng pricke. And whan Nycholas wold not assent to hem he was¹ cast in the same fyre and in the same turmentis.² but he was anone delyuered of that peyne. and aftir that he was led to a place wher men wer fryed in a panne by bemys³ of fyre.

And there was a gret whele ful of fyre, and theron wer these⁴ men hanged by dyuerse membres. and whan she was hastily turned she threwe out bemys⁵ of fyre. and aftir that he sawe a gret hous that was ful of boylinge lede and othir metallis by pittis.⁶ In the which pittis⁷ some had on foote, some had .ij. Othir⁸ wer with ynne unto the knees; othir unto the bely; some to the brest; some to the necke; and some to the eyen. and in rennyng thorough the turmentis⁹ he called the name of our lorde. and¹⁰ he passid ouer, and byheld withynne a depe pyt, of¹¹ the which ther went out a foule¹² smoke and a styncke that none¹³ myght suffer the odour therof. and out of that place come men brennyng as hote Iron, in manere of¹⁴ sparkis of brennyng¹⁵ fyre. but the feendis anone threwe him yn ayen. and the feendis seid¹⁶ to him: "this place that thou byholdist is helle, wher belsabuboure maister dwellyth. In this pyt we shal now cast the yf thou wil not consent to us. and be thou onys there thou mayst neuer ascape, for there is no remedy."¹⁷ and than he despised hem, and wold not obeye hem, thei¹⁸ toke him and threwe him into the pyt, wher he felt so gret turment and sorwe that he had ny foryete the name of our lord; but as sone as hit came to his mynde he seid hit in his herte, for

¹A., not consent to hem they cast hym; *h. omits*, was; *cor. in marg.*

²Others, torment.

³A., by the lemes of fire; *E. & h.*, by lemes of.

⁴A., were dyuerse men honged.

⁵A., And she was right h. t. And than she t. o. gret lemes; *E.*, lemes; *h.*, threwe (*hem margin*) oute lemes.

⁶*E. & h. om.*, lede and othir, and the; *A. om. former.*

⁷A., pitte.

⁸*E. & h.*, and some hadde twayne; *A.*, and s. h. twayen. And other w. in the pittes un to.

⁹Others, alle these tormentes.

¹⁰A., and he; and than he byheld; *E.*, and he behelde.

¹¹Others *om.* the; *A.*, pyt oute of whiche.

¹²A. *om.* a.

¹³*E.*, no man; *A.*, and suche a s. t. no man.

¹⁴A. *om.* men, *has*: come as brennyng as; in maner as.

¹⁵A., of the brennyng fire. And the.

¹⁶A., And thei seid.

¹⁷*E. & h.*, nys no.

¹⁸A., And than thei.

he myght not speke for peyne; and anone he went out all hole, and al that multitude¹ of fendis fledde away as ouercome.

And than he was led to a place uppon a brygge² that was right streyte, and polysshed as glasse, and as slepir as yse y-frore,³ undir the which brygge there ranne a flood of⁴ fyre and brymstone. and thanne he was in despeir how euer he myght passe ouer. and at⁵ last he bythought him of that wordis⁶ that had delyuered him fro so⁷ meny perellis, and went with good trust forthe, and set his fote uppon the brygge, and⁸ seyde his prayer. and than an horrible and⁹ dredful crye made him aferde, that unnethe he myght susteyne hym.¹⁰ but alway he seid his prayer and was all sure. and so he went forthe; and at euery foot¹¹ he made his prayer, and passed¹² surly. and whan he had passed ouer he come into a fayre mede, wher¹³ was a¹⁴ meruelous odour of dyuerse floures. and than he sawe .ij. fayre¹⁵ yonge men that appered to him and led him into a noble Cite merueilous,¹⁶ shynnyng with gold and preciouise stones. Oute of the yate of that Cite there came a meruelous swete odour that confortd him so that hit semed him that he had neuer felt sorwe, ne smert, ne styncke, ne¹⁷ desese. and than thei tolde him that hit was the Cite of paradise.¹⁸ And as Nicholas wold haue entred withynne, the yong men seid to him that he most turne ayen to his mayne, and by alle the places that he cam by: "but the feendis shal¹⁹ in no wyse mysdo the, but fle fro the²⁰ dredfulli whereuer thei see the."²¹ And .xxx. dayes aftir he shold rest in our lord, and thanne shal he entir into the²² Cite as a perpetuel cytezeine. And than²³ Nicholas went by the same wayes that he cam²⁴ fro;

¹A., companye.

²Others, brigge that he most nedes passe ouer, and that b. was, etc.

³E., y frozen; A., that is frozen; h., Ifrorenne.

⁴E. omits of; in h., inserted in marg. ⁵Others, atte the laste.

⁶Others, that worde.

⁷A. omits so.

⁸A., and he seid.

⁹E. & A., and a dredfull.

¹⁰A., hym self.

¹¹E. & h., atte eueri pase (pace); A., place.

¹²A., p. forth surly; E., (whan he) was pa. ouer.

¹³Others, wher ther.

¹⁴E. & h., omit a.

¹⁵E. & h., two right faire.

¹⁶Others, merueilously.

¹⁷E., ne none disese; A., ne no disese; h., smert

in stinke ne no disese.

¹⁸Others, that that Cite was paradise.

¹⁹h., shold.

²⁰Others, mysdo hym, and, fle fro hym.

²¹E. & h., where they see hym;

A., in what place thei seen hym. And with in, etc.

²²Others, that.

²³A., And whan.

²⁴E. & h., waye that he was come; A., way that he come

by byfore.

and founde him self uppon the pytte; and told hit¹ to the pepil as hit was byfalle him. and .xxx. dayes aftir he rested goodly in our lord. Here endith the Lyf of Seynt Patrik.

J. ST. PATRICE. Vr. fol. 90; Vf. fol. 83; Va. fol. 77.

Patrice est dist ausi comme pere sachant; quar par la volente de ihūcrist il sot les sacres de paradis et denfer. [*Vf*: Ci comence lexpurgatoire saint patrice, la ou aucuns sont aucune foiz entrez.] Saint Patrice commenca a prechier environ lan de notre seigneur .ccc. & .iiij.^{xx}. & si comme il preschoit la passion ihūcrist au roi des escos il sestoit deuant li, & sapuoit sus son bourdon que il tenoit en sa main; & ele estoit par aventure sus le pie du roy; & la pointe du bourdon perca le pie du roi;² & donc le roi cuida que le saint euesque le feist a escient, & que autrement le roy ne porroit recevoir la foy, se il ne soufroir ausi pour ihūcrist; si le soufri en pacience. et donc en lapfin³ le saint entendit ceste chose, & fu esbahi, et gueri le roy par ses prieres. Et si gaagna a cele⁴ prouince que nulle venimeuse beste ni peut viure. Et encore gaagna il plus; quar les fus & les cuiers de cele contree sont contraires a venim.

Un home auoit emble une ouaille a .i. sien voisin, & lauoit mengiee. et le saint prioit a leglise que quiconques lauoit emblee en feist satisfacion; & par plusieurs fois, & nul ne se comparoit. Et quant tout le peuple fu assemble a leglise, il commanda, par la vertu de ihūcrist, que louaille bellast dedens le ventre ou ele auoit este mengiee: & ainsi fu fait. & cil qui estoit coupable fist penitence.

Il auoit de coustume a aourer toutes les crois que il veoit deuotement. mes il passa auant une bele croiz, que il ne regarda pas, mes passa outre. & sa gent li demanderent, pour quoi il nauoit regard a cele croiz? Et quant il out oure il oi une vois desous terre, qui dist: "Tu ne mas pas regarde que ie sui .i. paien ci enseveli, & ne sui pas digne du signe de la croiz." et donc fist il cele croiz oster de la.

Si comme le benoit patrice preschoit en irlande,⁵ & il feist la pou de fruit, il depria notre seigneur que il demonstrat aucun signe par le

¹*E. & h.*, And tolde to alle the; *A.*, & he tolde to al the.

²Miniature in *Vf.* represents this; the king has crossed his legs, to save one foot. I omit minor variants. ³*Vf.*, en la parfin. ⁴*MS. om.* a cele; in *Vf.*

⁵*MS.* illande; *Vf.*, irlande.

quel il fussent espuantes & se repentissent. Et donc il fist par le commandement de notre seigneur .i. grant cerne en .i. lieu de son baston. & la terre saouri dedens ce cerne, & fist la aussi comme .i. tresgrant puis & parfont. et donc fu reuele au benoit patrice que cestoit la .i. lieu dexpurgatoire, & *que*¹ quiconques voudroit illéc descendre il naroit autre penitance, ne ne sentiroit autre mal pour son pechie, & que pluseurs *nen* retorneroit mie; & cil qui *en*² reuendroient il couendroit demorer la de lun matin iusques a lautre. Et donc moult de telz i entrerent qui ne reuindrent puis.

Et apres lonc temps, puis *que* patrice fu mort, .i. home noble, nicolas par non, qui auoit fait moult de pechiez, si sen repenti, & vout soustenir lexpurgatoire saint patrice. & si comme les autres faisoient il jeuna .xv. iours auant (*sic*). Il fist ouurir luis de lexpurgatoire, qui est garde en une abbaie sous clef, & descendi en deuant dit puis. & *el*³ coste de ce puis il trouua .i. huis, & entra dedens, & la trouua .i. oratoire. & moines reuestus en aubes entrerent en cel oratoire & firent leur seruise; & distrent a nicolas que il fust ferme, quar il couendroient que il passast par moult des essaimens *du*⁴ deable. & si comme il leur demanda *quele* aide il *porroit*⁵ auoir contre eulz, illi distrent: "Quant tu te sentiras tormenter es poines, di tantost & crie: Ihūrist, filz de dauid, aies pitie de moi pechieur."

Et tantost comme ces homes sen partirent les deables vindrent, & lamonesterent que il leur obeisist, *premierement* par promesses et par beles paroles; et que il le garderoient & ramenroient a ses propres liex. mes quant il ne vout obeir a eulz en nulle maniere, tantost il oi les voiz de diuerses bestes sauages & les innemens⁶ ensemble, aussi comme se tous les elemens tremblassent. & si comme il trembloit tout par horrible pouour, il dist: "Ihūrist, filz de dieu *vif*,⁷ aies pitie de moi pecheur." Et tantost comme il sescria toute cele tumulte de bestes sauages et horribles sapesa. Et donc il ala outre a .i. autre lieu. & la estoit grant multitude danemis, qui li distrent: "cuides tu que tu nous soies eschape? nennin, mes te commenceron plus a tormenter." Et donc apparut .i. tres

¹ *MS. om.; in Vf.* ² *MS. om.; Vf., & qui en.*

³ *MS. en; Vf., el.* ⁴ *MS. de; Vf., du.* ⁵ *MS. q̄ aide il pouoit; Vf., porroit.*

⁶ *Or muimens? Vf. has riragement (?); Va. & Vff., muemens, = Lat. mugitus.*

⁷ *MS. om.; in Vf.*

grant feu horrible deuant li, & les deables li distrent: "si tu ne tacordes a nous, nous te ieteron ardoir en ce feu." et quant il les¹ refusa, il le pristrent & ieterent en cel espuantable feu. et quant il se consenti² tormente illec il sescria tantost: "Ihūrist, filz de dieu vif, aiez pitie de moi pecheur." et tantost ce feu fu estaint.

Et de la vint en .i. autre lieu, et vit aucuns homes ardoir en feu tous vis, & estre batus de pieces de fer ardans & rouges, iusques a tant que les entrailles paroient. & estoient le ventre vers terre, et mordoient la terre par douleur, & crioient: "espargne nous, espargne!" & les deables adonc les batoient plus griement. & vit autrez des quelz serpens deuoroient les membres, & les botereaus leur traioient les entrailles de leur aguillons. et quant nicholas ne se vout consentir a eulz il fu iete en ce meisme feu & en ces poines, & fu tormente de ces pieces de fer & de ces poines. mes³ il dist adonc: "Ihūrist, filz de dieu le vif, aiez pitie de moi pecheur." & il fu tantost deliure de la dite poine.

Et apres ce il fu mene a .i. lieu ou les homes estoient fris en une paiele par motes. & la estoit une tres grant roe plaine de feu, & la estoient ces homes pendus par diuers membres. & quant ele estoit hastiement tornee ele metoit hors une mote de feu. & apres ce il vit une tres grant meson, qui estoit plaine de fosses plaines de metalz⁴ bouillanz, es queles fosses aucun auoit .i. pie, & lautre .ij.; lautre estoit dedens iusques aus genous; lautre iusques au ventre; lautre iusques a la poitrine; lautre iusques au col; lautre iusques aus iex. & en courant par tous ces tormens il apeloit le non de nostre seigneur. Il ala outre & regarda dedens .i. puis tres let, duquel il issoit une horrible fume, et & (*sic*) une pueur que nul ne pouoit souffrir. et de la issoient homes ardans comme fer chaut, en maniere de falemesces⁵ ou estenceles; mes les deables les rampaignoient arriere. et les deables li⁶ distrent; "ce lieu que tu regarde est enfer, en quel belzebus nostre seigneur habite. en ce puis te ieteron nous, se tu ne te veulz consentir a nous. & puis que tu seras iete la tu n'aras nul remede deschaper." et quant il les despisoit et ne vouloit obeir, il le pristrent et ieterent el⁷ puis. & la out si tres grant douleur que il a bien pou oblia le non nostre seigneur a requerre; mes tantost comme il reuint a li & il dist sa proiere dedens son cuer, que par vois ne

¹ *Vf.* has leur.² *Vf.*, se senti.³ *MS.* om.; in *Vf.*⁴ *Vf.* om. de metalz.⁵ *Vf.*, flamesches.⁶ *MS.* si; *Vf.*, li.⁷ *MS.* en; *Vf.* el.

la pouoit il dire, il issi tantost tout sain de la, & toute la multitude des deables sen ala comme vaincue.

Et donc il fu mene a .i. autre lieu, a .i. pont, sus lequel il le couuenoit passer. & ce pont estoit tres estroit, & ausi poli comme glace, & tout estoillant; sous lequel pont il courroit .i. fleuve de feu & de soufre. et il se desesperoit dutout comment il porroit passer par desus. et en lapfin il se recorda de la parole qui lauoit oste de tant de mauls, et ala en bone fiance auant, & mist .i. pie sus ce pont, & dist la priere. & donc un cri & une tres forte noise lespuanta si que a poine se pouoit il soustenir. mes toute foiz il dist sa priere & fu tout seur. Et donc mist lautre pie apres, & recommenca sa priere; & a chascun pas il la disoit, et passa ainsi seurement. Et quant il fu passe il vint en .i. tres biau pre, la ou il auoit¹ merueilleuse oudeur de diuerses fleurs. Et donc vit .ij. tres beaus iouuenceaus, qui sapparurent a li & lamenerent iusques a une tres noble cite, merueilleusement resplendissant dor & de precieuses pierres. & de la porte de cele cite² issoit merueilleuse oudeur, qui le reconforta si que il li estoit ains que il nauoit onques sentu ne douleur ne pueur. et donc li distrent que cele cite estoit paradis. et si comme nicholas vult entrer dedens, les iouuenceaus li distrent que il retourneroit premierement a ses gens, et que il le couuenoit retourner par les lieux par la³ ou il estoit venu; mes toute fois les deables ne li mefferoient point, mes sen fueroient tous espuantes quant il le verroient. et que .xxx. iours apres ce il reposeroit en dieu, et donc entreroit en cele cite comme citaien perpetuel. Et donc nicholas monta par le lieu ou il estoit descendu, & se troua desus le puis, & raconta a tous ce que li estoit auenu. et .xxx. iours apres il reposa bonement en nostre seigneur.

K. ST. PATRICE. Printed Vignay, fol. 112.

Patrice est dit comme sachant; car par la volente de dieu il sceut les secretz de la ioie de paradis, et vit partie des paines denfer.

Saint patrice ung iour preschoit de la souffrance de ihū crist par deuant le roy descoche, et sur sa croche sapoioit / aduint par auenture quil mist le debout de sa croche sur le piet du roy, et le piet tresperscha de son bourdon / le roy cuida q̄ st. patrice eut ce fait tout

¹MS. has a; Vj., auoit.

²MS. omits; in Vj.

³Vj. om. par la.

de gre, pour lui mouuoir plus tost a la foy de dieu, mais patrice se perchut de ce q̄ fait estoit, moult esbahi en fut / et par ses oroisons le roy gari. Et auec ce il impetra a nre seigneur q̄ nulle beste venimeuse ne peüst iamais en celui pais viure /

Aduint q̄ ung homme embla une brebis qui estoit a son voisin / sur ce patrice admonesta les gens q̄ quiconque leüst (*sic*) prinse quil le rendesist dedens .vij. iours / Quant tout le peuple fut assemble dedès leglise, et nul samblant celui hōme ne faisoit signe de rēdre celle brebis, Saint patrice cōmanda par la vertu de dieu q̄ la brebis criast ou ventre de celui qui lauait mengie / Et ainsi aduint il. Et celui meismes qui coupable estoit se repentit de son mesfait / et les autres se garderent de la en auant dembler les biens dau truy /

Celui saint evesque cōmencha a moustrer sainte vie entour lan de nre seigneur .iij. cens et .lxxx. ans /

Unefois quant en yuerne preschoit la foy de ihūcrist et peu de prouffit par sa prédication faisoit, car celles malles gens conuertir ne pouoit / Si pria a ihūcrist quil leur vouldist demonstrier aucun signe appert et espouventable / par lequel ilz se conuertissent et fuissent repentans de leurs pechies / Adont par le commandement de dieu saint patrice fist en terre ung grant cierge de son baston / et tantost la terre selou la quantite du cierge se ouurit / et ung puis la endroit saparut, trespasfont / Et saint patrice par la reuelation de dieu entendit que la estoit ung lieu de purgatoire / ens ouquel quiconques entreroit dedens de tous ses pechies pardon auroit / ne ia autre penitence ne feroit ne autre paine ne sentiroit / et lui fut monstre que plusieurs y entreroient qui iamais ne reuenroient; et ceulx qui retourner deuroient en celle fosse demouroient dung matin iusques a lautre et neant plus / Et plusieurs y entrèrent qui nen reuinrent.

Aduint long temps apres la mort saint patrice que ung noble homme apelle nicole, qui moult de pechies auoit fait / et tellement sen repentit q̄ ou purgatoire de saint patrice entrer vouloit en la remission de ses mesfais / Et quant deuant eut ieune lespace de .viij. iours, ainsi que coustume estoit / Apres en la fosse descendi, et trouua au commencement ung huis qui estoit ouuert deuant la fosse / il entra en luis & trouua par dedens ung oratoire gracieuse et religieuse / et tantost vindrent a luy moisnes tous blans vestus daubes / et loffice de dieu firent, et dirent apres a nicole q̄ ferme et estable demourast en la foy / car moult de temptations de lanemi

luy couuenroit souffrir / Et quant il leur demanda quelle aide il pourroit auoir encontre ces temptations / Ilz lui dirent : "quant tu verras quilz te veuillent greuer et tourmenter, et tu les sentiras / tantost tu diras : Ihūs, le filz de dieu le vif, aiez de moi qui suy pecheur merci /"

Et tantost les moisnes se departirent de lui / et grant foison de diables y vindrent, et le assaillirent, premierement de doulx et plaisans parolles, et par promesses, et lui dirent que bien le garderoient et sauvement le ramenroient / mais pour ce que a eulx ne se vouloit acorder ne obeir / tantost firent moult tresgrant bruit / si come bestes sauuages, pour lui espouenter / Et il tout tramblant de paour dist / "ihūs, filz de dieu le vif, aiez de moy pecheur merchi /" A ces mots tous ses (*ces*) horribles bruis cesserent et se esuanuïrent. il passa encore auant ung autre lieu, & une grant foison de diables vindrent a lencontre de lui, & lui dirent en manachant : "Cuides tu eschapper ? nēnil, voir / ains seras orendroit vilainement tourmente /" Et tantost se apparut la ung tres grant feu et horrible / Et les diables dirent / "Nous te ietterons dedens ce feu se tu ne acorde a nous." il les refusa, et tantost le prinrent et le ietterent emmi le feu / et si tost que le tourment du feu senti il cria et dist / "Ihūs, filz de dieu le vif, aiez de moy pecheur merci /" Et tantost le feu sestaindi.

puis se parti de la, et vint auant en ung autre lieu ou il vid plente de gens, hōmes et femmes, tous vifz ardoir en ung tresgrant feu, lesquelz les diables batoient crueusement de verges du feu ardant, tellement q̄ les entrailles se partoient / et des autres en ce feu vid il gesir le ventre souuin ; et des autres tous ardans ; et crioient : "espargnies nous" / et quant plus crioient les diables plus les batoient / Aussi vit il la des autres lesquelz serpens, escorpions, crapaux, et plusieurs autres bestes les deuouroient leurs membres. & auoient aiguillons ardanz / dont ilz boutoient dedens leurs boiaulx et les sacquoient hors de leurs ventres / Et quant nicole ne se volt nullement assentir a ces diables, tantost fut deulx iette en ce feu et batu des verges crueusement / mais si tost quil cria ayde, en disant a n̄re seigneur / "Ihūs, filz de dieu le vif, aiez de moy pecheur merci /" tantost fut deliure /

Après ce vint il en une maison en laquelle estoient fossez desquelles voloit hors metal. et y auoit plusieurs personnes qui auoient

en ce metal chacun ung piet, et les aucuns tous deux / et les aultres iusques a la poitrine / et les aucuns iusques a la teste / Et de la se departi, et vint iusques a ung treslarge puis / duquel yssoit hors une tres horrible fumiere et une si tresgrant flaireur quil ne le pouoit souffrir / De laquelle fosse yssioient gens hors si come estincelles ardans. Et les diables dirent a nicole : “ ceste fosse que tu regarde cy est enfer / Et en ce lieu habite nostre maistre, belzebuch / En ceste fosse te ietterons se tu ne tacordes a nous. et saches bien que quant la iette seras iamais a nul temps nen ysse-
ras / ” Et quant a eulx obeir refusa / ilz le prinrent pour lui ietter en celle fosse denfer / et tantost il cria : “ Ihesus, filz de dieu le vif, aiez de moy pecheur merci / ” Et par ainsi il eschappa / Et tantost les diables se euanuierent comme vaincus et confus.

Après, quant reuenir vouloit, il vid ung pont deuant luy par lequel luy couuenoit passer / Celui pont estoit si tresestroit et si glicant comme glace ; desoubz lequel couroit une riuere de souefre treslarge, et aussi de feu ardent / Au premier, pour la paour, de passer il perdi son esperance / mais quant apres lui souuint de la priere par laquelle il estoit de tant de maulx eschappe / Tantost luy reuint esperance de passer / Et chascun pas quil passoit¹ sur ledit pont deuotement disoit / “ Ihesus, filz de dieu le vif, aiez de moy pecheur merchi / ” Et quant il fut tout oultre cestui pont il trouua ung pret tresbel et tresbien oudourant / Et tantost sappareurent demprez luy deux iosnes hommes moult beaulx / lesquelz le conduirent iusques a une moult belle cite, merueilleusement reluisant de pierres precieuses, et luy dirent que celle cite estoit le paradis / Et quant nicole y vouloit entrer dedens ilz luy dirent que ainchois retourneroit il et vendroit a son lieu / et trente iours apres il trespasseroit en paix / et adont entreroit il en celle cite / et perpetuellement il demouroit dedens / Et apres ces parolles nicole se retourna a lentre de la fosse ou il estoit premiers entre / Et racompta a tous ce que adueni lui estoit / et morut au .xxx°. iour apres /

desquelles paines denfer et de² purgatoire par deseure decès³ ne se doit on point esmerueillier ne cuidier q̄ ce soit fable, car en pluseurs lieux de lescription et en pluseurs miracles lisons paines

¹Intended for faisoit (?).

²Text de bis.

³That is: par desore de ceans = au dessus céans.

pareilles. et meismement de ce que saint gregoire escript, ou ¹ quart liure de son dialogue, dun iehan qui mourut & reuint assez tost apres a vie / et tesmoignoît quil auoit veu les paines denfer / et pluseurs lieux rempli de feu et de flâme sans nombre / Et quant celui fut la mene pour estre iette emmi le feu / tantost vint ung angel en habit reluisant, et lui dist / “Vatent, et prens garde cōment doresenauant tu viueras” / Et il reuint a vie et demoustra clerement, par ieunes et par autres bonnes oeuvres de penitence quil faisoit, de ce quil auoit veu les paines denfer /

Encore dist saint gregoire, apres son diacre / Trois ans par cy deuant, en la mortalite qui regnoit cy aual, ung cheualier morut en ceste cite / et assez tost apres reuint en vie / et ce que veu auoit racompta / & disoit a pluseurs quil auoit veu ung pont desoubz lequel courroit une noire et obscure riuere / de laquelle montoit amont une tresflairant et orde brume / Et outre le pont estoient tresbeaulx prez, qui tresbōnes odeurs auoient de pluseurs manieres de fleurs, ens esquelles sambloient estre pluseurs compagnies de gens blans vestus, qui de celle odeur estoient raemplis / La vidt il pluseurs maisons plaines de lumiere / Et entre les autres vid il une tresgrande mansion de quariaux dor / mais sauoir ne pouoit pour qui ceste maison estoit ² dudit pont une telle maniere q̄ chacun qui passer y vouloit tantost cheoit ius en celle noire et flairant riuere. et les bons qui de nul pechie estoient entechiez la passoient tost, sans nul empeschement, et venoient outre en cest lieu ioieulx / Encore dist il que il auoit veu pierre, qui auoit este . iiij . ans de la famille de leglise, qui es lieux obscurs gisoit desoubz ce pont, lie de chaines de fer / lequel dist au dit cheualier la cause de ses paines, q̄ tous iours congnoissons bien qui furent telles / car quant on lui cōmandoit a faire aulcune correction / il le faisoit plus par le desir de cruaulte que par obedience / et plus estoit il felon en faisant correction quil ne fust debonnaire, que bien sceurent ceulx qui le congnoissoient.

Autres aduenues et exemples des paines denfer sont ou dit liure escriptes ; et viennent a la congnoissance de pluseurs pour leur plus

¹ For this and the next tale see Gregory's works, in Migne's *Patrol. Lat.*, vol. 77, col. 381.

² Evidently some lines lacking, which I am unfortunately unable to supply.

grande dampnation, en ce que les paines quilz sceurent estre appareillies pour les pecheurs ne veullent eschieuer par la repentance de leurs pechies / desquelles paines nous veulle garder ihūcrist, qui est benez in secula seculorum. Amen.

L. THE HOLY CROSS. H. fol. 77 b; E. fol. 102; A. fol. 107 b; h. fol. 124.¹

The fyndinge of the Crosse was .cc. yer and more aftir the Resurreccion of our lorde Jhū Criste. Men rede in the Gospel of Nichodemus that whan Adam was sike, Seth, his sone, wente to the yatis of Parradis terrestre, and askid pitousli of the Oyle of merci for to anoynte his ffadir to haue his hele. To whom Michael the archaungel apperid and seide: "ne trauaile thou not, ne wepe not as thou doste for to gete the Oyle of the tree of mercy; for thou maiste none haue in no wise bifore that .v. m. and .v.^a (yere)² be fulfillid." that is to wite, fro Adam into the Passion of Jhū Criste; of whiche .v. m. and .v.^a yere were passid than saufe .cc. and .xxxiiij. yer.

And hit is red ellis wher that the Aungel toke him a braunche, and commaundid him to plante hit in the mounte of Libañ. and verili, in a storie of the Grekes, though hit be Apochripum, hit is writen: the Aungel toke him of the tree of whiche Adam had synned, and seide to him that whan that tree sholde bere frute his ffadir sholde be helid. And whan Seth come home ayen he fonde his ffadir ded. and than he plantid this braunche uppon his fadris tombe. and whan hit was plauntid hit grewe, and bicom a grete tree, and endurid unto the tyme of Salomon. but whether these thinges be trewe or none I³ leve hit in the wil of the reder; ffor thei be not red in no Cronicle, ne in no storie that is antentik.

¹ I give only the more important variants; cf. p. 28 on Belet version.

² H., E., & A. om.; in h.

³ Others, that leue I in (A., to) the wille, etc. V. has (fol. 134): "et dura iusques au temps salomon/ Et pour ce que salomon le vidt bel, il le fist copper et mettre en sa maison quil auoit faicte en la lande/ Et quant la roine de sabba," etc., omitting the paragraph: "And as John Belet," and much of the next, as also Caxton, who, however, gives the name: "and sette it in his hows named saltus." But the original Vignay is complete; cf. Vr., fol. 126: "mes se ces choses sont voires . . . mettre en sauf en la maison des saus. Et si comme Johan beleth," etc. Cf. p. 9.

Than Salomon sawe this tree so faire (*he*)¹ commaundid to smyte him downe, and putte him safe in the hous of Saux.

And as Johā Belet seith, that Tree wolde neuer be mete to no manere of werke; for othir hit was to longe, othir to shorte; and therefore the werkemen had hit in dispite, and toke none hede therof, but leide hit ouer a watir as a brigge men for to passe ouer. And than² the Quene of saba, whan she come to hure the wisdom of Salomon, and than³ as she sholde passe ouere that watir she sawe in spirite how that the saviour of al the worlde sholde deie on that same Tree; and therefore she wolde not passe there-ouere, but worshipped⁴ that Tree.

And hit is red in the maistre of stories⁵ that the Quene of Saba saughe that tree in the hous of Saux. and whan she was go home ayen to her owne cuntre, she sente Salomon worde, that a man sholde be hongid on that Tree bi whos dethe the kingdome of Jewes sholde be distroied. And than Salomon toke aweie that tree, and hidde hit depe in the erthe. And aftir that the Pyscine was made there of probacion, wher men wisshe the sacrifices. and men seyen that the menyng⁶ of the watir, ne the curacion of sike peple, was not onli done for that the Aungel come downe, but bi the vertu of that Tree. And whan that the Passion of Jhū Criste neyged, hit is for certeyne that the same Tree floterid aboute the watir. and whan the Jewes sawe hit thei toke hit up, and made the Crosse of oure lorde therof.⁷

And the Crosse of our lorde was of .iiij. manere of Trees; that is to seie, of Palme, of Cipresse, of Cedre, and of Olyue; wherof a verse seith: the trees of the Crosse ben of Palme, Olyue, Cidre, and Cipres. In the Crosse there were .iiij. differences of Trees: the Tree uprighte, the tree ouerthwarte, the tabil that was sette aboue,

¹MS. *om.*; in *rest*; and below, *Sanxe*.

²*Others*, and whanne the q. of S. come to, *etc.* Cf. *Patr. Lat.*, vol. 202, col. 153; but see above, p. 22.

³*Others om.* and than; below, ouer the water and ouer the tree, she seigh, *etc.*

⁴MS., worship, *rest*,—ped.

⁵Cf. *Patrol. Lat.* 198, col. 1370.

⁶*Se.*, meuyng, as *rest*. *E. & h.*, pistin of probacion was made there. V. & Caxton agree in saying: "le premier malade qui descendoit en celle pechine estoit gari de quelconque maladie quil fust malade"—cf. p. 72.

⁷V. & Caxton add: "dont, selon celle histoire, la croix par qui nous sommes sauuez vint de larbre par qui nous sommes dampnez."

and the mortise that the Crosse was fastened ynn. this difference¹ of trees touchith the Appostil Paule, whan he seith that ye mowe comprehend (with)² alle the seyntis, whiche is the lengthe, the brede, the heyghte, and the depnesse. whiche wordis Austyne, the nobil doctor, expounneth in this manere: The brede of the Crosse of our lorde is seide in (the)³ trauers where oure lordis hondis were strecchid on. The lengthe, fro the erthe to the brede of the armes, wher al his bodie was tormentid on. The heighte was fro the brede wher his hede enclined on. The depnesse, that was hid in the Erthe wher the Crosse was fastened ynn.⁴ In whiche signes of the Crosse alle cristen mennes dedis bene disciured; that is to seie, to werke wel in criste, and to bere⁵ in him perseuerantli, and to hope in heuenli sacramentis and not mysuse hem.

This precious Tree of the Crosse was hid withynne the erthe .cc. yer and more;⁶ but hit was founde aftir in this manere bi Eleyne, the Modir of Constantine the Emperour. And in that tyme grete multitude of Barbariens withoute nombre wer assemblid bisidis the Ryuere of Danibe, and wolde haue passid ouere and submittid alle the Regions of the orient⁷ unto her lordeshippe. And whan Constantine the Emperour wiste that, he remeuyd his hoste, and come ayenste hem uppon the Danibe. and these men of barren encresid al day, and passid ouere the floode. And than Constantine had grete drede, and sawe that he moste nedis fighte with hem in the morwe. And in the same nyghte the Aungel of god awoke him, and seide to him that he sholde loke upwarde. And than Constantine lokid up to heuene-ward, and saw the signe of the Crosse shyninge right cleer with grete lighte; and there was write aboue with lettris of golde: thou shalte ouerecome thyne enemyes bi this signe. And than he was confortid with (that)⁸ heuenly vision. And than he lete make a Crosse, and ordeyned (hit)⁹ to be

¹This, to end of paragraph, om. in V. & C.; but in Vr.

²MS. om.; in rest.

³MS. om.; in E. & h.

⁴Vr.: "et le parfent fu ce qui estoit fichie en terre. Et ce precieus fust," etc.; cf. p. 72.

⁵Others, cleue; for leus?

⁶Vr.: "lespace de deux cens ans et plus [= Caxton: space of an hondred yere and more] . . . elaine le trouua en ceste maniere/car il estoit venu une grant multitude de gens barbarins demprey la riuiere de la dinoe"—cf. Caxton.

⁷A., Occident, erased; oryent in marg.

⁸MS. om.; rest, for (A. by) that.

⁹MS. om.; in rest.

bore bifore him and al his hoste. And than manli he ranne on his enemyes, and putte hem to flighte, and sloughe of hem grete multitude.

And aftir that Constantine lete calle to him the Bisshopis of the ydollis, and enquired of hem diligentli of what god that signe was, and thei tolde him thei wiste neuere. And than there come some cristen men that tolde pleynly that hit was the signe of the holy Crosse. And than the Emperour bileuid parfigtli in Jhū Criste, and reseuyed Bapteme of the Pope Eusebi, or aftir some othir bookis, of the Bisshop Cesarience. but many thingis be put in this storie to whiche the storie partid in three¹ (!) ayen-seith, and the Maistre of stories also, and the life of seinte Siluestre, and the geestis of the Bisshopis of Rome. And aftir some othir writers, this was not Constantine whiche was baptized of Siluestre the Pope, like as othir stories shewen. But hit was Constantine the ffadir of this Constantine; for this Constantine come othir wise to the feithe, so as men rede in the stori of seinte Siluestre, that tellith that he was baptized of seinte Siluestre, and not of Eusebi. for (*whan*)² Constantine the ffadir was dede, Constantine his sone remembrid him of the victorie of his ffadir, had bi the signe of the Crosse, and sente his Moodir, Eleyne, into Jerusalem for to fynde the veri Crosse, so that hit is seide hereafter.

And the Maistre of stories tellith that this victorie was done in this wise. he seith that whan Maxence assailed the Emperour of Rome, Constantine the Emperour come bisidis the Brigge of Albion for (*to*)³ fighte with Maxence.³ he was ful of Anguyssh, and ofte tyme he lifte up his hede and his eyen towarde heuene to biseche almyghty god of helpe. And as he slepte he had a vision fro heuene towarde the orient; for he saughe the signe of the Crosse in liknesse of fire. And an Aungell aftir that seide to him: "Constantine, thou shalt ouerecome thine enemyes bi this signe." and

¹*Historia tripartita* = lystoire partie en trois; thus also, e. g., in *V. f.* 272, *Va. f.* 219. All this omitted by *V. & Caxton*; cf. *V. fol.* 134 b.: "et se fist baptisier. Et puis aduint que constantin son filz, qui auoit souenance de la victoire son pere, enuoia a elaine sa mere pour trouuer la sainte vraie croix/dont alla elaine en iherusalem, et fist assamblar tous les sages du pais. quant ilz furent assemblez ilz estoient malaise de scauoir . . . dont leur dist iudas," etc., omitting all about Maxence, and about St. Helen's parentage, etc.; all in *Vr.*

² *MS. om.*; in rest.

³ *MS. for he*; for *om. in rest.*, as also below, his hede and.

as hit is seide in the storye partid in three, that as he merueyled hereof what hit myghte be, the same nyghte folewinge Jhū Criste apperid to him with that signe that he had seine in heuene. and he commaundid that he sholde make that signe and that figure, and that same sholde helpe him ayenste his enemyes in bataile. than was Constantine glad, and was al sure to haue the victorie; and made a figure in his forhede, the signe that he had seene in heuene, and chaungid alle his baners of werre, and made on hem the signe of the Crosse. and he bare a Crosse of golde on his honde,¹ and bisoughte our lorde that he wolde not suffre that righte side, whiche he had worshipid with the signe of hele and sauacion, to be bled with the bloode of Romaines, But that of his mercie he wolde graunte him the victorie of *(the)*² tirauntis withoute shedinge of blood.

And than Maxence commaundid to thoo that were with him in his shippis that thei sholde go undir the *brigge*,³ and that thei sholde kutte the brigge, for to disseyue here enemyes that sholde passe ouere. And whan that Maxence saughe that Constantine approchid the floode, he foryat his werke that he had done made, and wente hasteli ayenste Constantine with fewe men, and commaundid the rempnaunt of his peple to folewe him anone. And so Maxence wente forthe on the⁴ Brigge, and was disseiued with the same disseite that he wolde have deceyued Constantine; and so he was drowned in the depe flood. and than was Constantyne resseyued for lorde bi alle accorde.

And as hit is redde in a storie Autentik, that Constantine bileued not parfytly in god that tyme, ne he had not yit resseyued the holi Bapteme. But withynne a while aftir he sawe a vision of Seinte Petir and seinte Poule; and than he was baptized of Seinte Siluestre the Pope; and so he was helid of that lepre; and aftir that he bileued parfytli in god. And than he sente his Moodir, Eleyne, into Jerusalem for to seke the Crosse of our lorde. notwithstandinge, Ambrose seith, in his Epistil of the dethe of Theodosion, and the storie partid in three holte the same, that Constan-

¹ *A.*, made on them the signe of the cros of golde in his honde. And he, *etc.*; so *h.* originally, but in *marg.* it is corrected, as in *H.*

² *MS.* om.; in *rest.*

³ *MS.*, grigge; *A.*, brig; *E.* & *h.*, brigges.

⁴ *MS.* on the *bis.*

tine abode for to be baptized unto his laste daies; and he dide hit to that ende that he wolde be baptised in flom Jordan. And this same seith Jerome in his Croniclis. but hit is certeyne that he was baptised undir Siluestre the Pope; But hit is adoute whedir he abode to be baptised or no. and som men doute the legende of seinte Siluestre in meny thingis. ffor this storie of the Inuencion of the Crosse, whiche is founde in the storie Ecclesiastes, to whom the Cronicle accordith, semeth more Autentik than that that is recordid in the Chirche; for there be many thingis withynne that accorde not with the trouthe. but yf eny paraenture wolde seie so as hit is seide ofte aboue, that That same was not Constantine, but Constantine his ffadir, whiche is not righte autentik, though he hit be so that hit be radde in stories byyonde the see.

And than whan Eleyne was come to Jerusalem¹ she commaundid that alle the wise Jewes wer broughte bifore hir of al that Region.

And this Eleyne had (*furst*)² to her husbonde an Osteler; but for the bewte of her Constaunte ioyned her unto him, aftir that Ambrose tellith bi these wordis: "men seyne," seith Ambrose, "that she was an osteler; but wel I wote she was weddid to Constaunte the olde, that aftir was Emperour. She was a good Osteler, that so diligentli sougte the Cribbe of our lorde Jhū Criste. Also she was a good Osteler, that mys-knewe nat him that laye in the stabil. And also she was a good osteler, that accomptid al thinge at noughte saue the loue of Jhū Criste; and for to gete that was al her ioye and al her labour. And therfore our lorde lifte her up fro this place to his endles blisse." and this seith seinte Ambrose; but othir seyne, and hit is redde in a storye that is Autentik, that Eleyne was the doughtir of Thoell, kynge of Bretaigne. and whan Constaunte was in Bretaigne he toke here unto his wyfe. and than the yle of Bretaigne fel unto him bi the dethe of Thoell; and this the Bretons witnessith.

And thanne the Jewes dradde gretli, and seide one to another: "whi trowe ye that the Quene makith us to appere bifor here?" and than one of hem, that *highte*³ Judas, seide: "I wote wel that she wolde knowe of us wher the Tree of the Crosse is that Jhū

¹*E., and all:* And as Eline was come be yende the see, she, etc.

²*MS. om.; E., and all:* had furst an hostiler, but for, etc.; *h.,* be grete; *A.,* hir gret b. she was Ioyned to con.

³*MS. lighte; rest, hight(e).*

Criste was hongid on. but none knoweliche to her of yow; ffor I wote well than that our lawe shal be distroied, and the techingis of our kinrede amentisid. for zathee,¹ my graunte ffadir, tolde my ffadir, and my ffadir tolde me whan he deide, and seide: 'sone, I charge the that whan the tyme cometh that men seke the Crosse of Criste, that thou shewe hit to none² bifore thou haue suffred som tormente. For aftir that she shal be founde, the peple of Jewes shal haue no kyngdome, but thei shal haue hit that worshippe the crucified; for he is Jhū Criste, the sone of god.' And than I seide to him: 'ffadir, yf your Auncien ffadris knewe that he was the sone of god, whi hinge thei him on the Gebet of the Crosse?' than seide his ffadir: "god wot I was neuer of her counseil, but ayen-seide hem meny tymes. for I wote wel he was a right-wise man, and repreued the vices of the Phariseis, whiche made him to be crucified. And he arose verili the thridde day fro dethe to life, and stied into heuene seyng his disciplis. And Stephen, thi brothir, bileued in him;³ and therfore the woode Jewes stoned him to the dethe. Wherefore kepe the, good sone, that thou blame him not, ne his disciples." but this is not righte prouable, that the ffadir of this Judas myghte haue be in the tyme of the passion of Jhū Criste; for hit was .cc. yere and .lxx. fro the passion Of Criste unto the comynge of Eleyne, in whos tyme the Crosse was founde; but yf hit were, paraurentur, that men lyued in thoo daies lengir than thei do now.⁴

And than seide Judas to the Jewes:⁵ "we herde neuer of these thingis. But loke yf the Quene enquire of these thingis that thou discouere this nought." And than aftir (whan) thei wer alle broughte bifore the Quene, and she askid hem wher the place was that Jhū Criste was crucified on; but thei wolde not telle her in no wise. And than the Quene commaundid that thei sholde alle be brente in a fire, so that thei dradde fore the dethe, and delyuered her Judas, seyinge: "Madame, this is the sone of a rightwise man

¹E. & h., Sachee myn (my) graunsere (Graunsire); A., Zachee my grauntsir.

²E. & h., to man tofore thou haue s. to miche torment. All om. hit.

³A., in hym verily. And berefore kepe the, etc., also h., originally, but here the omission is supplied in marg., minor details agreeing with E. rather than H.

⁴Note omission of this sentence in V. and Caxton.

⁵Dixerunt ergo Judaei ad Judam; the error common to all, tho' h. does notice it, and corrects thou to ge, in marg.; no error in Vr.

and a prophete, and knewe the lawe right well ; and he can shewe yow al that ye wil axe him." and than she lete go alle that othir and kepte Judas allone.

And than Eleyne seide to him : "chese of .ij. thinges, whethir thou wilte deie or lyue.¹ shewe me the place that is callid Galgatha, wher Jhū Criste was crucified, so that I may finde the Crosse." than Judas aunswerid and seide : "how may I knowe the place, sith hit is .cc. yer and .lxx., and I was not in that tyme." To whom the Quene seide : "bi him that was crucified, but yf thou telle me the trouthe I shall make the deie for hunger." And than she commaundid that he shold be caste into a depe prisone, and there to be tormentid wyth hungre. and whan he had be there .vii. dayes, he bisoughte her that he myghte come oute, and he wolde shewe the peple² (*sic*) of the Crosse.

And whan he was had oute of prison he come to the place, and made his praiers to the place. And than that place bigan to meue sodenli, and the peple felte a mervelous sauour of swetnesse,³ so that Judas merueillid, and reioysed, and ioyned his hondis togedres, and seide : "in trouthe, Jhū Criste, thou arte the sauyour of the worlde !"

And as men rede in the Maister of stories that the temple of venus⁴ was in the same place, the whiche Adrian the Emperour lete make, for that cause yf eny cristen men come to worshippe the place that he sholde be seie to worshippe the ydolle of venus ; and therfore that place was nat hauntid, but as al foryeten. And than Eleyne made that temple to be destroied and that place to be worshiped. And than aftir that Judas and othir bigan for to digge myghteli, that thei diggid .xx. paas depe ; and there thei founde .iij. Crossis hid, the whiche he broughte to the Quene Eleyne.

¹*Caxton must have used Lat. or Eng. here* : "Thenne she shewed to hym his lyfe & dethe, & bad hym chese. whyche he wold ;" = *V. f. 135* : "dont lui dist elle la vie et mort de son propos, 'preng lequel que tu veulz ;" = *Vr. f. 128* : "Ellis lequel que tu voudras, ou morir, ou viure." Also below, *V.* : dont luy dist la roine : "par le crucifix, ie te ferai perir de faim ;" = *Vr.* : au quel la roine dist : "Par cil qui fu crucefie, ie te ferai morir par faim."

²*Others*, place ; *A.*, the place to hir. And whan he had made his prayers the place bygan, etc. ; *h.* also originally so, but marginal correction now makes it like *E.* : Come to the place, and whanne he hadde made his praiers the place beganne, etc.

³*Vr.* : "et len senti oudeur de merueilleuse douceur daromates ;" *V.*, "une fumiére de grant oudeur," = *Caxton* : "fume of grete swetenes.

⁴*V. & Caxton simply* : le temple dune deesse, = of a goddess.

And whan thei coude not knowe the Crosse of Jhū Criste fro the Crosse of the thefis, thei leide hem alle three in the myddis of the Cite, and abode there the grace of god. And than aboute the oure of none men bere a yonge man dede by the weyē. And than Judas toke the first Crosse, and the secounde, and leide hem uppon the ded body; but he meued neuer the more. But as sone as he was touchid with the thridde Crosse he aros anone fro dethe to lyffe.

*M*En rede in the stori Ecclesiaste,¹ that a ladi, whiche was Ladi of that Cite, lay in her bedde, halfe dede. and Macharie, that was Bisshop of Jerusalem, toke the firste Crosse, and the secunde;² but thei profighted her not. And than he toke the thridde Crosse and touchid her therewith: and she aros anone al hole. And Ambrose seith how that thei knewe the Crosse of our lorde bi the titil that Pilat had sette thereon, that was founde and radde there.

and the ffende cried in the eyre, and seide: "O, thou Judas! whi haste thou doo this? thou hast not folewed³ myne othir Judas, but thou haste do the contrarie. For he dide the treson that I connseiled him; and thou haste forsake me, and haste founde the Crosse of Jhū Criste. By my Judas I haue wonne meny a soule; and bi the I shal lese thoo of the Jewes that I had gete som tyme. I regned by him in the peple; and bi the I shal be caste oute of the peple. and therfore verili yf I may I shal ouercome the. for I shal meue ayenst the anothir kynge, that shal lese⁴ the lawe of the Crucified, and make the to renaye the crucified." the which thinge the ffeende mente bi Julian Appostata, the whiche tormentid aftir that same Judas with meny grete tormentis; for he was made Bisshope of Jerusalem, and a martir of Jhū Criste.

And whan Judas herde the ffeende crie so, he dradde him not, but cursid him strongli, seyinge: "Jhū Criste hath dampned the depe in helle, in euerlastinge fire." And aftir that Judas was cristened, and callid Quiriacus; and than he was ordeyned to be Bisshop of Jerusalem. And whan the blessid Eleyne saughe that she had not the blessid Nayles of Jhū Criste, she praied Quiriacus that he wolde go to the same place and seke hem diligentli. And

¹ This story om. in V. and C.; but in Vr.

² A., and the secunde and touchid hir; but, etc.

³ h., Thou hast not defouled myn, etc.

⁴ Rest, leue; A. om. and make—crucified.

whan he come thidir and made his praiers, the Nayles of our lorde Jhū Criste bigan to shyne aboute the erthe as golde.¹ than he toke hem up and bare hem to Eleyne the Quene. and than she knelid a-doune, and enclyned here heed, and worshipid hem with grete reuerence.

And than seinte Eleyne toke that one partie of the Crosse. and that othir she made to be putte in a fayre Shryne² of siluer, and bere hit into Jerusalem. And that othir partie she bare to her sone, and the Nayles of our lorde that he was nayled with. Of the whiche Nailes, as Cesarience seith, Constantine made to sette (oon of)³ hem in a Bridell whiche he used whan he wente into bataile. And with that othir he arrayed his helme. But meny affermed, as Gregorie of Touris seith,⁴ that there were .iiij. nailes fastned in oure lorde Jhū; of the whiche seinte Eleyne put .ij. in her sones Bridell. and the thridde was sette in the ymage of Constaunte that is at Rome, and apperid aboute al the Cite. And the .iiij.^{the} she caste in the see of Adrian, the whiche into that tyme had be a deluge and distruccion of alle thoo that come thereynne. And she commaundid that this feeste of the Inuencion of the Crosse were euery yere halewid solempneli. and Ambrose seith the same, how that Eleyne soughte the Nayles of oure lorde, and fonde hem. and of that one she made her sone a Bridell. and of that othir a Croune; and she made to sette the Nayles in the forheed, and the⁵ Cronne in the backe of the hede; and the reyne in the honde: so that the witte apperid, the feithe shyned, and the myghte gouerned.

And whan alle these thingis were done, Julian the Appostata slouge Seint Quiriacus the Bisshop, for that he had founde the holy Crosse. and this Julian enforsid him al that he couthe to distroie the holy Crosse.⁶ for whan Julian wente ayens the men of Perce, he toke Quiriacus, and wolde haue made him to do sacrifice to the ydollis. And whan Quiriacus had denyed hit, he made to kutte

¹A., golde. tho he knelyd doune, and enclyned his hed, and worshipped hem with gret reuerence, and bare hem to the quene.

²h., put a shrine, but in a fair inserted in marg.

³All om.; in marg. of h., made set (oon of) them.

⁴This and fol. to end of paragraph om. in V. and Caxton; but in Vr.

⁵Others, of the crowne; cf. Lat. p. 310.

⁶Sentence repeated in h., but erased; this Julian omitted.

of his right honde, and seide that he had write to many letters with his honde: "bi the whiche he hath *withdrowe* moche peple to sacrifice to our goddis." And than Quiriacus seide to him: "thou wood hounde, thou haste do to me a grete profighte. For or I wer cristen I wrote ofte into the synagoge of Jewes that none¹ sholde bileue in god. and nowe thou haste caste awaye al the disclaundir of my bodi."

And than anone this Julian lete melte lede, and poured hit in his mouth. and aftir that he lete make a Grederne of Iren, and made him to be leide thereon, and grete fire to (*be*)² putte undir of colis. and than he made his woundis to be frotid with salte and grece. And Quiriacus helde him stille withoute meuyng. and than Julian seide to him: "yf thou wylte not sacrifice to our goddis, yit renaye that thou arte a cristen man." and whan Quiriacus had refusid to do that cursid³ dede, Julian commaundid to make a depe pitte in the erthe, and put thereynne Quiriacus, and caste uppon him venemous serpentis. but these serpentis were dede anone. And than Julian commaundid that Quiriacus sholde be put in a Caudron ful of Oyle boylinge hote. and he blessid him, and entrid ynne with his good wille, and praied to oure lorde that he wolde baptize him ayen in the lauatorie of martirdome. And than was Julian wrothe, and commaundid that he were smyte thorough the bodi with a spere; and so he disserued to fulfille his martirdome.

how moche the vertu of the Crosse apperid in that trewe Notarie that an enchauntour wolde haue disseyued, and broughte him into a place where he callid the ffeendis, and bihigte him that he sholde habounde in al manere of richesse. And than he saughe a grete Ethiopie sitte an highe uppon an highe seege. and had aboute him meny Ethiopis that helde swerdis and staues in her hondis. And than he asked of the Enchauntour what man that was. and he seide: "lorde, hit is youre seruaunt." And than the Ethiopie seide: "wil he worships me, and be myne, and renaye his Criste? And I shal make him sitte uppon my righte side." and than anone this Notarie made uppon him the signe of the Crosse, and seide that he

¹A. & h., men; but in h. non replaces erased men.

²MS. om.; in rest; A. has, gret Colys of fire to be put under.

³E., and whanne he hadde refused that in cursinge, Julyan, etc.; A. & h., he had do to refuse that in scornynge, Julian, etc.

was the seruaunt of Jhū Criste. and anone that multitude of ffeendis vanysshid away.

And aftir that in a tyme as this Notarie wente with his maistre and entrid into a Chirche of seinte Sophie, and stode bothe bifore the ymage of the sauoure, his maystre saughe how that the ymage bihilde the Notarie verili, and had his eygen sette uppon him ententeli. And (*whan*)¹ the maistre sawe this he had grete merueile, and made him turne into the right side of the ymage. and yit he sauge the ymage haue alwey his eygen uppon him. And than he made him turne on the lifte side. but the ymage turned his eyen uppon him, and bihelde him stedfastli. And than the maistre contraried² him, and praied him to telle him what he had deserued towardis god that the ymage bihelde him soo? And than this Notarie seide that he cowthe not remembre him of no goode dede that he had done, but that he wolde not renaye god aftir the ffeendis biddinge.³ Here endith the Findinge of the holy Crosse.

CHAPTER VI. REMARKS ON THE TEXTS. RESULTS.

A few words must be said on the principles which have guided me in editing the legends given above. In the MSS., and in the printed text of de Vignay, the eccentricities of the original uses of capitals have never been "corrected;" whether according with our ideas or not, I have always attempted to reproduce the original. But in the case of punctuation I felt myself free; for such rude attempts at indicating punctuation as were to be found in the MSS. were too scanty, and too thoroughly inconsistent. In both English and French legends, therefore, I am responsible for the punctuation, which I have used to bring out the proper meaning according to my best judgment. I trust that some semblance of order has been brought out of chaos, so that at least some sort of meaning will be got out of the sentences. In the printed V. there is some punctuation, which is in general quite correct, but insufficient; as far as possible I have preserved this (indicated by/, as in Caxton), and supplemented it with my own. I have also felt bound to reduce the inconsistent uses of the MSS. as regards divi-

¹*MS. om.; rest, And whan he sawe.*

²*Others, his maister coniuired.*

³*E. & A., wolde not renye hym afore the fende (A. adds, and enchauntour).*

sion of words to some sort of order. For example, the indefinite article was sometimes joined to the following adj., as *agrete*, *adepe*; words which we now write in one body were sometimes divided, as *with in*, *ouer come*. These changes have been carried through as consistently as possible. I have not attempted to reproduce the rubric paragraph signs, which are used in all the mss., but which are not consistent with modern punctuation.

It was often a sore temptation to offer certain emendations, but in no case have any such been put in the text unless justified or suggested by another version. In the case of legends *A.* to *E.*, inclusive, there was only the text of ms. Add. 11,565, with its marginal corrections. Many interesting collations with Caxton might have been put in here; but it is perhaps preferable that the comparison be made in bulk. In the other legends the ms. on which the text is based is always the first named. For the *Seven Sleepers*, *St. Patrick*, and *Holy Cross*, I chose the text of ms. Harl. 4775, because it seemed, in general, the smoothest, and also because the relationship between it and Douce 372 could then be shown more clearly. It is, perhaps, needless to say that the texts are as accurate as I could make them. That errors have crept in I cannot doubt, but I hope they will prove to be few and insignificant; for all portions of the copy which seemed to me doubtful were collated many times with the mss. before leaving London.

The variants from other mss. given in the footnotes are not intended to be exhaustive, except in that portion of the *Seven Sleepers* common to mss. H. and D. Here I sought to give even the minor orthographic variants. Even thus, they are insignificant in number, and not one is of any real importance. Exactly similar results would appear in other legends which I am not able to print here, such as *St. Julian*, *St. Ursula*, *Five wives of Pharaoh*, and *Adam*. This seems to me a confirmation of the opinion expressed on p. 73. In the variants from others than ms. D., I have tried to give, in legends *F.* and *I.*, all that were of any importance, rarely any that were merely orthographic. Even with these restrictions, the notes occupy a good deal of space, so that it may be imagined to what inordinate proportions they would have grown if minute details had been included. I may state here that where a variant reading has been referred to as occurring in *All*, or in *Others*, or in *rest*, I

mean in all other MSS. except the one on which the text is based, excluding, of course, cases in which some special variant for a certain MS. has been already given in the note.

The choice of the legends here printed has not been altogether haphazard. All of them, we must remember, are here printed for the first time in their present form, with the exception of *St. Patrick* and the French legends; and all these, too, except *K.*, are based on MSS., not on the later printed forms. The first five legends are from MS. A., and are among the most important in the list. For they will show, upon comparison, a much closer relation to Caxton than any of the others. We have discussed this before (p. 83, fol.) and there is little more to add; for half an hour spent by the reader in comparing these legends with Caxton's version of them will do more to prove our point than pages of scrappy parallels presented here. I may add, however, that the differences between Caxton and MS. A. in these legends is probably no greater than that between Caxton's *Polychronicon* and the R. S. ed. of Trevisa's work. The same holds true of other legends for which Caxton depended on MS. A.

The *Seven Sleepers* was chosen to show another aspect of Caxton's debt to the MSS. Here he had his choice between the French, the Latin, and the English. He almost certainly used all three. The first few words of Caxton's story are quite as close to the corresponding portion in the MSS. (p. 107) as the text of MS. A., for example, is to that of MS. H. And similar verbal agreements in various parts of the story show phrases borrowed from the MSS.; e. g., MSS.: "And therefore I commaunde that thou be demened aftir the lawes into the tyme that thou hast confessed that thou hast founde"—Cax.: "And therfor I commaund that thou be demened after the lawe, til thou hast confessyd where thou hast founde this money." I think there can be no doubt that Caxton translated with the English before him. We may feel perfectly sure that he always kept the Latin by him; I need here mention only the significant fact that he uses the Latin form of the names, as *Malchus*, and *marcyanus* (*Malche* and *Martinian* in MSS.; cf. also p. 93). And the frequency of French words in place of English ones (*doubtous* for *dreadful*; *entresalewed eche other*, for *bade eche of hem othir good morwe*) shows no less certainly use of the French, even

if we did not find a phrase such as the following, without counterpart in the English or Latin: "that mountayn *whiche was deserte and aspre*."

St. Marine, in its two forms, was put in to show several things (cf. pp. 71, 87, and 93). In the first place, we find that Caxton here relied mainly upon the Latin; he did not use the French at all, for it seems probable, from our examination of the etymologies, that he did not use the mss. which have this legend. But his knowledge of the English may be suspected when we find him using a sentence not found in the Latin, but in our mss. In the second place, a comparison of French and English ms. versions shows that the latter is considerably fuller, and that it is more likely to have come from the Latin than from the French.

The three versions of *St. Patrick* were meant to bring out several interesting points. The comparisons already made between *I.* and *J.* (cf. pp. 71, 72) are the basis of my opinion that the English translator used the Latin as well as the French. I leave the texts in the hands of the reader. A mere glance at texts *J.* and *K.* will convince any one of the fact that the de Vignay reviser has been at work here. He has changed the form of the original about as much as Caxton usually does. And he has also added two incidents by way of supplement. But most noteworthy of all is the attitude assumed by Caxton to the original story, as represented by the three texts here presented and the Latin. He has followed none, but, as we have shown above (p. 86), has written a new legend for himself, in which he leaves out nearly all the familiar purgatory legend, about which he was apparently a little skeptical; yet he adds many details that seemed to him historical. I selected this legend to show how freely the great printer handles his materials when on ground with which he was familiar. Ralph Higden was to him a trustworthy historian, while the unknown author of this very extraordinary story of Nicholas, with his experiences of fire and brimstone, was hardly to be credited. He describes how the saint discovered the mouth of purgatory, and the conditions of entrance. Then he proceeds, without any mention of Nicholas: "As touchyng this pytte or hole, whyche is named saynt Patrykes purgatorye, somme holde opynyon that the second patryke whiche was an abbot & no bysshop, that god shewed to hym this place of purga-

torye, but certeynly suche a place there is in yrelonde wherein many men haue been, and yet dayly goon in & come ageyn, & somme haue had there meruayllous vylions and seen grysly and horryble paynes, of whome there been bookes maad as of Tundale and other.”¹ This is all, except the passing reference below, where the three great feats of St. Patrick are enumerated: “The iii wonder is redde of hys purgatorye, whyche is more referred to the lasse saynt Patryk thabbot.” I quote from the K. P. ed., p. 422.

In the last of the legends, the *Holy Cross*, I have attempted to show, first, how Caxton sometimes follows V. (S.), rather than the standard and conventional form found in the Latin, older French, and English versions. But even here, though following V. in omitting many of the details (indicated in the footnotes), he can be detected in the act of adding corrections from the other versions. A case in point is the insertion of the name *hows named saltus* (= *domus saltus*), which is not found in the V. text (cf. p. 130, note 3). A careful reading would doubtless discover more, but I could not devote much time to minutiae of this nature, having hit upon one point that is quite sufficient for my purposes. I wished also to bring out some of the more interesting features of the Belet and Vignay French versions, and in order to keep the notes within bounds, I was compelled to give very few variants from the English mss. I hope, however, that I have succeeded in retaining all that were of any real value. The legend itself is peculiarly interesting, and the footnotes are intended to emphasize certain points, for which I shall refer to the text and to previous parts of this study.

A few words must still be said regarding the Kelmscott Press *Golden Legend*. Mr. Ellis's statement (p. 1285), that “where the text was altogether unintelligible, or absolutely wrong through mistranslation, no hesitation has been felt in correcting it by the Latin original”—without any sort of sign-post to warn one—filled me with alarm, especially in view of other shortcomings of the edition from a critical point of view. I could not leave St. Cuth-

¹ Is it not possible that Caxton got his doubts from reading Froissart? Cf. the latter's comment in his *Chron.*, Bk. IV, cap. 62—in Lord Berners, see Wright, *St. Pat. Purgatory*, p. 139. Caxton certainly knew of Froissart; see the reference in his Epilogue to the *Order of Chivalry*, Blades, I, 176.

bert, St. Donston, and other holy and blessed saints, martyrs, and confessors in whom I was interested, defenceless victims to Mr. Ellis's sacrificial shears. I therefore collated all the legends with which I was particularly concerned with the original Caxton. I am glad to say that I found practically no changes of importance. In many places "&" has been substituted for "and," or vice versa; and a few capitals have been changed, generally to suit the modern punctuation. We may well forgive such slight changes.

With the evidence I have already presented (p. 70, fol.), and with that which the reader may select for himself from the French and English texts of *Marine* and *Patrick*, I think it can be proved that the English translator knew and used, to some extent, the original Latin. I shall not argue the question over again, as my views have already been stated as fully as need be. But one piece of evidence, which I had intended presenting earlier had I not been prevented by mislaying a part of my notes, will come in here at the end, where I fear it will produce a stronger effect than I wished to have attached to it. It will be remembered that de Vignay's name always occurs at the end of the legend of *St. Dominique* (cf. p. 45-46). This would be one of the first places in which one would look, therefore, to find out something about the name of the translator of the English version. It so happens that mss. A., H., and D. are defective just at this point. But in E., fol. 178, and in h., fol. 226, we find the following words, which would have delighted Dr. Horstmann's soul had he happened upon them:¹ "Seint Domenik the ordenaunce (*sic*)² of his ordre sawe ihū crist that helde .iiij. dartes in his honde and manaced the worlde, *etc.* ffor I, frere iohā of Benyngnay, translatour of this boke, will no more putte hereof that vision; for she is before in the same chapitre. and thus endith this glorious lyff of seint Domenik, the furst fader and techer of the frere prechoures; notwithstanding that I haue not fully drawe oute alle the glorious miracles that hys (*f.* 178 *b*) blessed lyff makithe mension of, for shortnesse of tyme; but ho so luste to rede hem or to here hem, he may clerely and plen-

¹ This bit was copied by Mr. J. A. Herbert, of the Brit. Mus., as I was unable to find the notes I had myself made. The two mss. vary only in quite unimportant points of spelling; I quote from E.

² The sentence should possibly read: St. Dom. *atte* the ordenaunce, *etc.*

teously se hem in legenda aurea : and oure blessed lorde thorughe his praiers yeue us part of his holy merites. Amen." The vision here referred to is that recounted in the Latin, p. 470, beginning: *Quidam frater minor narravit : cum beatus Dominicus Romae pro confirmatione sui ordinis apud papam instaret, nocte orans vidit in spiritu Christum in aëre existentem et tres lanceas in manu tenentem et contra mundum eas vibrantem.* There is no doubt whatever in my mind, not only that the words in the English mss. are translated from the French, with which they agree so ludicrously, but that the very name of *Benyngnay* is but a corruption of *Vignay*. Mr. Madge suggests (p. xiii) *Bungay* (?); but he was not aware of the original passage in the French, which explains it all. But in spite of this tell-tale piece of copying on the part of the English translator, I still hold to my view, for which I think I have given adequate evidence, that he also used the Latin.

The original purpose of my study, viz., to work out the sources and method of Caxton's *Golden Legende*, has been obscured by so much detail and followed through such devious ways that I feel it necessary to re-state my conclusions. We have five fairly complete mss. of an English prose translation of the *Legenda Aurea*, made from the French of Jean de Vignay, with some use of the Latin, in the first quarter of the xv century. I feel quite sure that other mss. of this version are to be found. All of those we have are copies, and all agree closely enough to allow of collation. One of these mss., which has never before been described as belonging to this common version (except, of course, in the Brit. Mus. Catalogues; Ward mentions it, Vol. II, 555, in connection with *St. Brendan*, but not as one of the mss. of the English *Golden Legend*), contains a number of legends of English saints not found in the others, or in the Latin. We have, besides the more primitive forms, a ms. and a book, printed at Paris (?) in 1480 (?), representing a thorough revision of de Vignay's French version. The original Latin was available in many places. With these legitimate materials before him, how did Caxton proceed? what are his sources?

For the arrangement and general plan of his work Caxton chose the revised Vignay of ms. Stowe, = the printed V.; and this must still be regarded as the groundwork of his *Legend*. From it he

translated certain special feasts—such as the *History of the Mass*, and the *Twelve Articles*—and probably all of the new French or Dutch saints found in his *Legend*, about thirty-five in all. To these Caxton adds a new and rather long life of *St. Rocke*, translated from some non-*Legenda* Latin text. Then, the fourteen chapters called Bible stories, which are his own work, based on the Bible, but with a large admixture of legendary matter from Josephus, the *Polychronicon*, etc. Then we find nineteen English saints, new to the *Legenda*. Eight of these can be shown to have come from the English mss., chiefly Add. 11, 565; and as this ms. is defective in the very places where we should expect to find more English saints, and as these legends cannot be proved to have come from other sources, we may be allowed to assume that they once existed in the original of ms. A., and that Caxton got them from this English translation. Caxton follows the mss. in giving a legend of *St. Katherine*, differing in many particulars from that in the *Legenda Aurea*: how did Caxton treat that? Here we call attention first to three legends: *St. George*, *St. Germaine*, and *St. Patrick*. In the first we find Caxton adding a paragraph of his own knowledge. The second is duplicated; in its first form he used the French of ms. S., = V.; in the second, the English mss. and the Latin. In *St. Patrick* he departs from all his models, and writes a new legend, in which there is but a passing reference to the Purgatory. In view of this quite unexpected departure from the role of a mere translator, we ought not to decide too hastily that the bulk of his text—the original corpus of the *Legenda*—is taken unchanged from the Latin or the French.

We have five legends for which, owing to various reasons, Caxton depended on the Latin, rather than on his usual French and English sources. These are: *Gordian*, *Pernelle*, *Quirynne*, *Maryne*, and *Theodora*. Examination of the etymologies which Caxton added to those found in ms. S., = V., shows almost beyond question that he here used the Latin, and not the other and older French mss. which do contain these etymologies. From this, and from the evidence of the five legends named above, we conclude that Caxton translated these legends from the Latin, may have used the Eng-

lish mss., but did not know of the other French mss. representing the earliest stage of de Vignay's work.

The labor of translating such a huge work must have been considerable. But Caxton did not go about his task rashly or inconsiderately. When we, digging at random in this abandoned mine, chance upon a nugget here and there which is plainly not from the accepted sources, we should be doubly cautious how we claim that this *Golden Legend* was filled up from this or that book. As I have said before, we are not justified in doing so until every page of his work has been sifted to discover which of his sources was most used. This study makes no such pretense to exhaustiveness; but as far as it has gone it shows that Caxton depended to a large degree upon the previous English version which he seems in many cases to have adopted bodily, introducing necessary corrections from the Latin and the French. This, I think, is putting in its true light the influence of the English mss. And I believe that further investigation would show a great deal more of this than I feel warranted in positively claiming, but that it would not show many new cases in which Caxton has relied solely upon this version.

APPENDIX.—NEW MANUSCRIPTS.

In Todd's Catalogue of the Lambeth mss. (1812), No. 72 is described as a "Codex membranaceus, folio. Sec. xv. The *Golden Legend*, by W. Caxton. Imperfect, beginning at f. 41. Ends with a Table to the Lives of the Saints on f. 462 a." I had seen this notice, but, having then no time to investigate, concluded that this was nothing more than a copy of Caxton's book, not a ms. My attention was called to it again by Mr. Herbert, and I then requested him to find out something about the matter for me. Shortly after that, he sent me notice of a ms. belonging to the Ashburnham collection, to be sold at Sotheby's on May 1st. And when the sale came off, he also examined this ms. for me. The results of his careful work are given below, and, though put in its present form by me, the whole is based on the information he obtained. The results confirm, in a most surprising and gratifying manner, many of the surmises I have hazarded, and my regret is therefore all the keener that I did not find these

MSS. sooner. I shall quote what Mr. Herbert says of the MSS., making comments of my own.

Lambeth MS. No. 72 is a vellum MS., folio, fifteenth century : "I should say," he remarks, "about the middle, later rather than earlier, of the century; written in two or three hands of the same period, in double columns of 42 lines. It is imperfect at the beginning, but nowhere else that I can discover; and as the chapters are numbered in the rubrics, and as there are catchwords at the end of each quire, any lacuna should be easily detected. The first leaf (in the present state of the MS.) is numbered 41, and the last 461; but a modern note on the fly-leaf points out that the numbering is not quite correct, 43 and 303 being omitted, and 170 put twice." The MS. begins in the life of *St. Agnes* : "myght ys moste stronge, the beholdyng moste feyre, the love moste swete. And the grace grettest of all other. (*Paragraph sign.*) And after she put fyve benefytes that her spowse yeve here, and to all otherre spouses. ffor he makyth hem noble" (cf. *Leg.*, p. 114, l. 13). This life ends f. 42 b, and the life of *St. Vincent* begins. Rubric: "Here begynneth the lyfe of seynt Vynsent the deakon. Cap^m 24^m."

Of the Ashburnham MS., which is by far the most important of all those yet discovered, Mr. Herbert says: "MSS. formerly in Ashburnham Appendix, sold at Sotheby's, 1 May, 1899. Lot 1 (bought by Quaritch). It is an unusually complete copy, by far the most complete of any that I have seen; and it is a fine MS., of much the same general pattern as Lambeth 72 and our (Brit. Mus.) Add. 11, 565. Large folio. Arms (said to be those of Elias Ashmole) stamped on cover. Vellum, ff. 173, double columns of 69 lines. XVth cent. (about the middle of the century). One or more leaves (probably not more than one or two) lost at the end, otherwise no imperfection so far as I noticed. On f. 1 is a table of chapters, headed 'The Calendyr of the lyves of Seyntys;' it ignores several of the articles actually included, having only 170 chapters instead of 197. The first page of the MS. proper has a fine illuminated border. Title: 'Legenda Sanctorum in Englysshe. Here begynneth the boke of þe lyfe of Seyntis callid in latyn Legenda sanctorum. Of þe whiche begynnyth first þe

lyfe of seynt Andrew the apostle.' Cap. 1 begins: 'Seynt Andrewe and othir of þe disciples were callid iij tymes of our lord.'"

There is no necessity for giving a complete table of contents, as we can indicate what the MSS. contain by reference to the table of H., p. 50. MS. Lambeth 72, as said, begins with *Agnes* (incomplete), = H. Cap. 23. The order is then quite like that in H. Cap. 79, f. 143, gives: "lyves of seynt Albon and Amphibal, first martirs of Ingland." Cap. 96 is, says Mr. Herbert, "a Life of *Jerome*, in sections, each section headed by a rubric; including several epistles of *Jerome*." This is the first divergence from H. in MS. Lamb. 72.

The Ashburnham MS., beginning with *Andrew*, runs quite regularly like H. as far as Cap. 66; here *Jerome* is omitted (the Ashb. MS. gives a Cap. later on *Jerome*, No. 160). Then after H. Cap. 78 (*Geruase*) comes *Leo*, = H. 82, Latin 88, and in present MS. numbered 78. After this we find most important additions, and as some of them occur in both MSS., I shall put them in one table; the folios for Lamb. are given, as well as the chapters; for Ashb. chapters alone are given in those legends only which it adds to the list of Lambeth; the legends found in both are also starred, to avoid all misconception.

CAP.	FOL.		CAP.	FOL.	
79 ...	...	Edward King & Conf.	101 ... 217 b ...	*	Edmond kyng & martir.
80 ...	...	Winifred Virg.			
81 ...	...	Erkenwolde.	102 ... 218 ...	*	ffrydeswide.
82 ...	...	*Albone & Amphibelle. ¹	103 ... 219 ...	*	Edward kyng & martir.
97 ... 202 ...		*Brendan (<i>later in Ash.</i>).	104 ... 220 ...	*	Alphey bisschop.
98 ... 208 ...		*Austyn bisschop (<i>later in Ash.</i>).	100 ...	*	Austyn Bp (Apost. Angl). ²
99 ... 213 ...		*Edmond bisschop. ³	105 ... 221 ...	*	Oswold.
100 ... 216 ...		*Bride.	106 ... 222 b ...	*	Donston.

¹ These 4 are from Ashb.; *Albone*, of course, same as in other MSS.; in Ashb. *Albone* is followed by chapters = H., Nos. 80, 81 (Lat., 86, 87), then 83-91, inclusive (Lat., 89-97), then *Edmond*, Ash. Cap. 94, = Lamb. 99.

² In Ashb., "Edmond confessor," beginning a new leaf, 1½ cols. being left blank after Cap. 93, *Appollynar*.

³ See below, comments on *Austyn*; does not come in this place in Lamb.; see Cap. 98.

CAP.	FOL.		CAP.	FOL.	
107 ... 224 ...		*Aldelyne confessor. ¹	112 ... 230 b ...		*Cutberte Bp.
108 ... 224 b ...		*Theophile the clerke. ²	113 ... 231 b ...		*ffeythe Virgin.
109 ... 227 b ...		*Swythyn Bysschop.	114 ... 232 ...		*Dorothy Virgin.
110 ... 228 b ...		*Kenelme King & Martyr.	115 ... 232 b ...		*Leger. ³
111 ... 230 ...		*Chadde Bp.	116 ... 234 ...		Michael.
			117 ... 237 ...		Thomas of Caunturbery. ⁴
			118 ... 251 ...		Barbara Virgin. ⁵

The last two, it will be noticed, are only in the Lamb. MS. I continue my comment on this MS., which now adheres to the order of H., though there are still many changes. Cap. 119 is *Martha*, = H. Cap. 99, and so on regularly through Cap. 105 of H. It is a curious, and, perhaps, a significant coincidence, that the four chapters which are lost in H. are omitted in this MS, namely, *Domynyke*, *Sixte*, *Donate*, and *Ciriak*. Besides, *Hippolitus*, *Timothy*, and *Simphorian* are omitted, as well as the four chapters, 118–121 (of H.), inclusive.⁶ Then the MS. omits all following *Cecile*, as far as *Exaltacioun*, which is followed by *Chrysostom* (here Cap. 135). After this we pass to (Cap. 136) *Matthaeus*, followed by *Francis*, with omission of all those intervening except *Leger*, given above (115). I shall save time and space by simply giving the numbers of the chapters in the H. table which are here omitted. The MS. omits Caps.: 143, 144, 145, 147, 150, 153, 157, 158, 162 (also omitted here in A., cf. p. 69, and in Ashb., see below), 164 (166 and 167 are transposed), 171 (probably, as in other MSS., only an apparent omission; cf. pp. 63–64).

The *Lyfe of Adam and Eve* (f. 423), and the “V. wylys þat kyng pharao vsyd agenst þe children of Jsraelle to kepe hem in his londe” (f. 431), seem to be complete (as also in Ashb.). Then follows a final cap. (164, f. 437): “þe lyves of þe ·iij· kyngis of Coleyne,

¹ In Ashb., Cap. 112, *Aldelme*.

² In Lamb., “followed by the six Mary-legends, numbered 2–7, in Ward, II, 735–736;” cf. p. 66; in Ashb., “no Mary legends.”

³ After this in Ashb. come *Brendan* (see Cap. 97) and *Crystyne* (= Lat. 98), the rest being omitted.

⁴ In Lamb., “I think longer than Graesse, Cap. 11,” says Mr. Herbert; of course, this is in all probability the same legend found in Add.

⁵ “In 16 chapters, followed by many ‘meraclis’ of St. Barbara, ff. 251, 274.”

⁶ As in H., Cap. 125 of Lat. is om. here.

conteyned in ·xlvi· chapters." This begins: "Sithe of þese ·iiij· Worshipful and glorious kyngis alle þe World, from þe arisyng of þe sunne to his down goyng, is fulle of preisyngis & meritis, þerfore also þis World shalle and doithe schyne." It ends, on f. 461, near the foot of col. 2: "the whiche ·iiij· holy kyngis now reigne in þe hye blisse of heven: to the whiche blysse he vs bryng, there owre lord Jhū crist regneth aboue alle kyngis. Amen."¹ There is, says Mr. Herbert, "no colophon; but there may have been one, for the corner of the (last) leaf has been cut away close up to the concluding words, quoted above. On f. 461 b is a list of contents in a modern hand (XVIth or XVIIth cent.), made after the loss at the beginning."

If there had been any doubt as to whether these MSS. should be classed with those we already know, it would be removed when we find the test passage from *St. Germaine* (cf. p. 73) reading just like all the others: "And than the kynges Cowherd had led his bestes to pasture. so as the Saxons fought ayenst the bretons," etc., in Lamb., f. 228 b, and MS. Ashb., f. 89 b, with few verbal differences.

The order of MS. Lamb., and particularly of the new legends, is not quite the same as in Add. 11,565; but the differences are not very important. In Add., *Becket* begins the list of new legends, and *Brandan* closes it (cf. MS. Ash.); here the order is reversed, *Brendan* being put first (we exclude *Jerome*, though it is probably a new chapter), and *Becket* next to the last. Besides, in Add. *Michael* is put much later (cf. p. 68), while here a chapter on *Michael*—which may be presumed to be of the same nature as that in Add.—precedes *Becket*. We have noted the coincidence in the omission of *Cecile*, and the same is true of Ashb. But the strongest reason for classing these two MSS. with Add. is the mere fact of the added legends. Lamb. has compensated for the additions by a good many omissions, far more than in Add.; but the Ashb. MS., to which I now turn, is full.

¹The version here given seems to be the same found in MSS. Cambridge Univ. Libr. Ee. 4. 32, and Cotton, Titus A. xxv. The beginning and end correspond almost verbatim; cf. *The Three Kings of Cologne*, ed. Horstmann, E. E. T. S. No. 85, pp. 2 and 156. The present MS. was not known to Horstmann. I must thank Dr. Bright for the hint leading to this note.

In MS. Ashb., after *Leger* come (Cap. 112) *Brandon*, (113) *Crystyne*, = H. 92, Lat. 98, and then regularly as in H. On folio 93b, end, we find the close of *Domynyk*: "& he manassid the worlde (f. 94) gretelye, as it is afore rehersid. for I, ffryour John of Renyngnaye, translatour of this boke, wolle no more put here of that vysion, for she is afore in this same chaptoure. And this endith," etc. Cf. p. 146.

The last three chapters in MS. Ashb. are: *Adam*, *Pharao*, and *Advent*, reversing the order of H. The last words of *Advent*, which is not complete, are: "The worchyng of the ixth article is that . . . if he be a layman"—on folio 173b, the last in the volume.

It will be remembered that I suggested that MS. Add. once contained a life of *St. Austyn* from which Caxton drew, and a life of *Oswolde* which he intended to use but did not (pp. 83 and 85). Both are in these new MSS., and the Ashb. MS. actually gives the significant title *Apost. Angl.* to one of its chapters on *Austyn* (both MSS. have two *Austyns*; in Lam. they are Nos. 98 and 130; in Ashb., 100 and 138). We need have little hesitation in asserting that one of these corresponds to Caxton's first chapter on *St. Austyn*. Moreover, when we turn back to the list of new English saints (p. 83), we find that the present MSS. contain, besides the *Oswolde* to which Caxton refers without afterwards incorporating it, nearly every one of those enumerated. Three only remain to be accounted for, and they are all comparatively short: *Hugh*, *Bede*, and *Translation of Beket*. One cannot help a feeling of gratification at finding predictions so happily justified by the event. And, since guesses have been so promptly and fully confirmed in other cases, I have no doubt that these legends, too, once existed in some form of the English prose translation of the *Legenda Aurea*.

LIFE.

I was born January 18th, 1873, in New Orleans, La. Until my fifteenth year I was taught entirely at home, by private instructors, partly on a plantation in Mississippi, partly in New Orleans. In October, 1888, I entered Tulane University, where I pursued the regular Academic course, receiving the degree of B. A. in 1892. Two years more spent in advanced study at Tulane, in English, French, and History, during which time I gave elementary instruction to classes in these subjects, brought me the degree of M. A. in June, 1894. In October of that year I went to Paris, where I entered the Sorbonne, pursuing studies in Old and Modern French. In the Spring and Summer of 1895 I was traveling in Italy, France, Great Britain, and Ireland. Returning to America, I entered the English department of Johns Hopkins University, pursuing courses in English, French, and History. In June, 1897, I returned to England, intending to collect materials for this dissertation. But an unfortunate accident, affecting my sight, compelled me not only to return, but to relinquish all work for that academic year. My sight was so far recovered in May, 1898, that, having been appointed Fellow in English, I returned to England, and spent the Summer collecting materials for this study, in the British Museum, the Bodleian Library, and the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris.

I must take this occasion to acknowledge many obligations to instructors and friends, and particularly to Dr. James W. Bright. His constant and inspiring help and encouragement alone enabled me to complete this work. The suggestion, the idea, is his own; the faulty way in which it has been prosecuted is mine. To Dr. R. H. Wilson I owe thanks for some help on Old French. And it is no new thing to find oneself obliged to express thanks for the uniformly kind and polite treatment which a foreign student receives in the great Libraries of Europe, particularly those in England.

